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I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. The earliest authentic notices of Ladák scarcely reach so far back as the beginning of the Christian era. In A.D. 399-400, when the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian,* Hoeï-King, and others, reached *Yu-thian* (or Kotan), the former determined to remain behind for some time to witness the procession of images, while Hoeï-King proceeded in advance to *Kie-chha*. After the procession had taken place, Fa-Hian travelled by *Tsu-ho* and *Yu-hoeï*, and over the *Tsung-Ling* mountains southward to *Kie-chha*, where he rejoined Hoeï-King. On those mountains, which were one month's journey in breadth, the snow, it is said, never melted, and the natives of the country were known by the name of "men of the snowy mountains." From *Kie-chha* the pilgrims proceeded westward to *Tho-ly*, which they reached in one month. From this account, it appears to me that there can be no doubt of the identity of the ancient *Kie-chha* with the modern Ladák.

2. To reach Ladák from Kotan there were two roads open to the pilgrims, the western by Kukeyar and the southern by Ruthog (or Rudok). By either route the

* See the *Fo-kue-ki*, by Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, or the Translation by Laidlay.

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travellers would have to cross the Kárákoram mountains; but as *Tsu-ho* is stated to have been only 1,000 li (about 166 miles) from *Su-le* (or Kashgar), it is clear that Fa-Hian must have followed the western route. This is more distinctly proved by the Chinese identification of *Tsu-ho* with *Chu-kiu-pho*, which was exactly 1,000 li to the westward of Kotan. *Tsu-ho* was therefore midway between Kotan and Kashgar. Klaproth identified it with Kukeyar, and he is probably correct. From *Tsu-ho* the pilgrims proceeded to the south, and over the *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains." From Kukeyar to Ladák the road lies to the south over the Kárákoram mountains, which, even as high as 17,000 feet, are covered with wild leeks, thus justifying the Chinese name of Tsung-Ling, or "Onion Mountains."* To the westward of *Kie-chha*, at one month's journey, was *Tho-ly*, or (as it is written by Hwan-Thsang) *Tha-li-lo*, which is an exact transcript of Darel, one of the Dardu districts on the Indus; and which Hwan-Thsang places to the westward of *Po-lu-lo* or Bolor, that is, the modern district of Balti. As Darel is just one month's journey from Lé, the district of Ladák corresponds exactly in geographical position with the ancient kingdom of *Kie-chha*.

3. But the other details, recorded by Fa-Hian, seem to place this identification beyond all doubt. The country was "mountainous, and so cold that no grain but corn ever ripened," which is exactly the case with Ladák. *Kie-chha*, moreover, possessed a stone vase of the same colour as Buddha's alms-dish, besides a tooth of Buddha.

* I owe this fact to Dr. Thomas Thomson, my brother Commissioner on the Tibetan frontier, whose spirit of enterprise carried him to the top of the Kárákoram pass.

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Now, one of these relics (the alms-dish) still exists in a temple to the north of Lé. It is a large earthenware vase, similar in shape to the two largest steatite vases extracted from the Bhilsa Topes.* But Ladák also possessed a tooth of Buddha, which was formerly enshrined at Lé in a *dung-ten*, or solid mound of masonry similar to the Topes of Bhilsa and of Afghanistan. The *dung-ten* still exists, though ruinous: but the holy tooth is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher, of Balti, upwards of 200 years ago, when Ladák was invaded and plundered by the Musalmáns of the west, who, most probably, threw the much-prized relic contemptuously into the Indus. At any rate, it has never since been heard of.

4. Lastly, the name of *Kie-chha*, and the designation of the people as "men of the snowy mountains," both point unmistakably to Ladák, which is still known as *Kha-pa-chan*, or *Kha-chan*, "abounding in snow," or Snow-land, and the people as *Kha-pa-chan-pa*, or *Kha-chan-pa*, "men of the snowy land."†

5. In the *Cesi* of Pliny, and in the *A-khassa regio* of Ptolemy, I believe that we have the earliest mention of Ladák. Of the former Pliny‡ says, "hos includit Indus montium coronâ circumdatos et solitudinibus." This description is literally true of the people of *Kha-pa-chan*, or Snow-land, whose whole country lies along

* By Lieutenant Maisey and myself. See my account of the opening and examination of "The Bhilsa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India," printed for Smith, Elder, & Co. (1853).

† *Kha*, or *Kha-pa*, is "snow," and *chan* means "full." Perhaps Náser-ud-din *Kabáchah*, who reigned in Multan and Sindh, and afterwards disputed the empire of India with Altanish, was a Ladáki. Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* is no doubt *Kha-chan-yul*, "Snow-land," or Ladák.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. c. 20.

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101 131 175 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains. The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 175 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

177 212 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.
† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

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of the Kashmirian characters, which remain unchanged to this day.* 177 212

8. In the beginning of the eleventh century Palgyigon occupied Ladák, and Tashi-Degon took possession of Purang.† In A.D. 1314, Rinchana Bhoti invaded Kashmir.‡ As he entered the valley by Gagangir, on the Sindh river, he must have advanced through Drás, one of the districts of Ladák. It is probable, therefore, that he was the ruler of Ladák. At that time Kashmir had been invaded by an army of 60,000 horse, under the command of Dallach, the minister of a neighbouring chief, named Karma Sena. The invaders advanced to the capital, which, being deserted by the Raja Sena Deva, was plundered and burned. Dallach continued his devastations to the eastern end of the valley, and retired by the Pass of Tár-bal.§ Numbers of the Kashmiris then waited upon Rinchana, who was emboldened to advance against the troops of the Raja Sena Deva. The raja fled; the Bhotiyan chief was victorious, and assumed the sovereignty of the country. He strengthened himself by marrying the daughter of Rama Chandra, the general of Sena Deva; and reigned for three years, from A.D. 1315 to 1318, the undisputed master of Kashmir. 175

9. Half a century before this time the celebrated Marco Polo had visited the court of the great Kublai, Emperor of China. He had sojourned in the hills of Badakshán for the sake of his health; and he describes the countries of Wakham, Pamer, Bolor, and Kashmir.

* Csoma de Körös, Tibetan Grammar, p. 178.

† Csoma, in Prinsep's useful tables, p. 131. The names are written *dPal-gyi-mGon* and *bKra-shis-lDe-mGon*.

‡ Raja Tarangini. § That is, the "Tar-hill" in Kashmiri.

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175 By some it has been supposed that he must have entered Tibet; but the wonderful account which he gives of the people proves that his information could only have been obtained by hearsay. Indeed, notwithstanding the early and wide-spread fame of Prester John, there is no authentic record that Tibet had been visited by any European prior to the seventeenth century.

797 10. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,
175 when the Jesuits and Capuchins possessed several monasteries in Lhasa, a considerable number of missionaries must have resided for many years in Tibet; and yet no more than two of these religious fraternities have left any record of their travels and observations behind them.

11. The first of these is Le Père Hippolyte Desideri,* who travelled for six months, between August 1715 and March 1716, through the greater part of the country, from Ladák through Ruthog to Lhasa. Of his travels, the only account that I have seen is that which was published by Klaproth. It is a concise, but very useful geographical account.

12. The second is Frà Franciso Orazio della Penna di Billi, a Capuchin, who travelled to Lhasa in 1730, and resided for some years in the monastery of his order in that city. His account is exceedingly valuable, notwithstanding his prosy repetitions.† He was a man of observation, and his account of the Buddhist religion, as practised in Tibet, is full and accurate.

175 13. In A.D. 1774 George Bogle‡ was deputed to

* Nouveau Journal Asiatique, tom. viii. pp. 117—121, by the celebrated Klaproth.

† Nouveau Journal Asiatique, tom. xiv.

‡ See the Preface to Turner's Tibet, pp. xiv—xvi.

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Tibet by Warren Hastings. The Dalai Lama,* or Grand Lama of Lhasa, was then in his minority, and the country was ruled by the Tashi Lama of Tashi Lhunpo. No account of this mission has been preserved, which is the more to be regretted as Bogle would seem to have been a man of superior intelligence.

14. In A.D. 1783 a second mission was despatched by Warren Hastings to Tibet. Captain Turner, the head of the mission, succeeded in reaching Tashi Lhunpo, but he was prevented from going to Lhasa "by a consideration of the present state of that government,"† as the *Gyat sub Rinpoche* "had usurped, even from the hands of the Dalai Lama, the greatest portion of his temporal power." The Regent of Tashi Lhunpo also dissuaded‡ the envoy from making the attempt, for fear of offending the Chinese. Captain Turner's account of his embassy is the most curious and interesting work on Tibet that has yet appeared.

A Chinese work, called "Notice of the Provinces of Weï and Tsang," was written by *Ma-shao-yun*, the Commissary-General of the Chinese army, which was sent to expel the Gorkhas from Tibet in 1786.§ His account is short but interesting, especially in the notices of the various religious festivals.

The adventurous Moorcroft lived for two whole years in Ladák, from September 1820 to September 1822. His account of the country is marked by great shrewdness of observation, and by the most scrupulous accuracy. A more truthful chronicler than Moorcroft never lived.

* *Tu-lhi-b La-ma*, is the Dalai Lama of Europeans.

† Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet, by Capt. Samuel Turner. ‡ Turner's Tibet, 4to. p. 253.

§ Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, tom. iv. et vi.

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175 The Botis of Ladák, the Kahlon of Lé, the merchants of Kashmir, and the Rajah of Rajaore, all spoke to me of the English traveller with the highest respect.* As there has always been a suspicion of foul play in the manner of his death, the second of the following letters, addressed by Trebeck to Syad Muhammad Shah, is of considerable interest and importance, as it distinctly states that Moorcroft *died* at Andkhuï, *after some days' illness.*

000 Translation of a *parwánah* addressed by Moorcroft to Syad Muhammud Shah Kashmiri :—

" Your letter has arrived, and your faithful services have become known to us. The paper bearing the seals of the merchants and other friends at that place (Kábul), addressed to Muhammad Murád Beg, the ruler of Kunduz, which you forwarded, has been shown. Our escape has been effected, and we have started for Bokhára. Remain in Kábul until our return, and consider your salary fixed at the same rate as formerly. Take fifty pieces of gold from Khoda Baksh Khán, the merchant, for your expenses, and continue day and night to note whatever takes place. More is superfluous."

Syad Muhammad Shah was a young Kashmiri, who had accompanied Moorcroft from his native country to Kashmir. On the departure of the travellers for Balkh, he was discharged at his own request ; but as he remained in Kábul, he was employed by them as a news-writer, and on the occasion of Moorcroft's deten-

* Burnes has recorded the estimation in which Moorcroft's memory was held by the people of Balkh ; and I am happy to add here the testimony of Major Edwardes (A Year in the Panjab, i. 52) to the same effect. " I am glad to be able to contribute the smallest white pebble to poor Moorcroft's cairn ; and cannot pass on without recording that my friend Swahn Khan spoke of him highly in every way."

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000 under the seals of Yár Muhammad Khán and Sultán Muhammad Khán. The original is now in my possession. In this certificate they state that, "when the *Sáhibs* arrived at Kúndúz, they got into trouble, and were relieved from their difficulties by the services of the Syad, who was then at Kábul, and that, in consequence of his zeal and devotion, the *Sáhibs* begged him to remain in Kábul until their return."

I obtained all these documents in original from the Syad himself, who, as a Shiah Musulmán, had sought and obtained service at the Shiah court of Lucknow.

● 175 648 Towards the end of the year 1834, the eccentric Dr. Henderson reached Lé, the capital of Ladák, disguised as a Musulmán, calling himself Ishmaïl Khan. His disguise was soon penetrated, but he was kindly treated by the Gyalpo, who at once saw, in the opportune arrival of a British officer, a possible means of averting the ultimate conquest of his kingdom. In August 1834, Ladák had been invaded by Zoráwar Sing, the local Governor of Káshtwár, under Raja Guláb Sing, of Jammu. At the time of Dr. Henderson's arrival at Lé, the invaders had taken possession of the western provinces of Suru and Drás, and had advanced into the valley of Paskyum. Henderson's presence immediately recalled to the Gyalpo's memory the offer which he had once before made, through Moorcroft, of allegiance to the British Government. The rulers of India had already snatched Sindh from the rough grasp of the Lion of Lahor, and the simple Tibetan vainly thought that they would be equally willing to save Ladák from the arms of his lieutenant. Dr. Henderson was therefore applied to; but as he had crossed the British frontier against the positive prohibition of his

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Government, and was now in Ladák when he ought to have been in Calcutta, he was unwilling to make any communication which would at once expose his violation of the orders of his Government. The draft of the original tender of allegiance which was forwarded by Moorcroft was shown to him; but his position prevented him from acting as Moorcroft had done. His refusal irritated the Gyalpo, and he was prevented from leaving Ladák without being actually imprisoned.* Meanwhile the people were informed that a British envoy had arrived, and that the invaders would speedily be obliged to depart. Zoráwar Sing immediately reported the circumstance to his master, Raja Guláb Sing, who applied to the Maharaja. Ranjit Sing at once "addressed the political agent at Ludiána to ascertain the meaning of such proceeding. The agent satisfied Ranjit Sing with an assurance that Dr. Henderson, the traveller, had passed the Sutlej in direct violation of the orders of his Government; and that there was not the slightest idea of interfering with Ranjit's plan of extending his conquests northwards. Zoráwar Sing, after this explanation, was desired to proceed with his operations;"† upon which Henderson was allowed to depart. In fact, he was detained so long as his presence was of service to the Gyalpo in delaying the loss of his kingdom.‡

Dr. Henderson was provided with instruments; and as, according to Baron Hugel, he had some tact for

* My information agrees with Hugel's. The Baron obained his version from Henderson himself. I got mine from the Botis of Ladák, and the officers of Zoráwar Sing's force.

† Quoted from Hugel's Travels, p. 102.

‡ Vigne, vol. ii. p. 337, says that Henderson himself complained to Ranjit of his detention at Lé.

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observation, an account of his travels would have been particularly valuable. He was probably the first European who had ever visited *Skardo*, or Little Tibet. He took that route to avoid the invading army of Dogras, and succeeded in reaching Kashmir in November 1835. All his observations were lost, along with his baggage, on the road between Ladák and Kashmir.* In 1847, I made repeated inquiries for English books, or English writing, with the hope of recovering some of Henderson's notes, but all in vain.

Ladák was visited by Mr. Vigne shortly after *Moré-Tátsi* had been placed on the throne by Zoráwar Sing. From Balti he proceeded through Lé to the Nubra valley, and returned by the same route. His short stay in Ladák was unfortunate; for, owing to the mutual jealousy of himself and the Dogra authorities, he was deprived of all means of obtaining information. His notice of Ladák is therefore the least interesting part of his rambles in the Alpine Panjáb. His accounts of Kashmir and Balti are full of valuable information, which is half lost for want of arrangement.

Early in 1846, when the result of the first Sikh war had made Raja Guláb Sing the undisputed master of Ladák and its dependencies, and he had no longer to guard himself against the power of the Sikh chiefs, it seemed not improbable that the hope of plunder and the desire of revenge might tempt him to repeat the expedition of 1841 into the Lhasan territory. Such an occurrence would at once have stopped the importation of shawl wool into our territory, and have closed the

* Baron Hugel's Travels, pp. 129, 151. Henderson's servant reported that his baggage was lost in the snow in the *Naubak* Pass. I presume that the *Namyika* Pass is intended.

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whole of the petty commerce of our hill states with Tibet. It was possible also that our peaceful relations with the Chinese emperor might be considerably embarrassed by his Celestial Majesty's ignorance of any distinction between the rulers of India and the rulers of Kashmir. As it seemed desirable to prevent the chance of such an occurrence, the British Government determined to remove the most common cause of all disputes in the East,—an unsettled boundary. For this purpose two officers were deputed, in August 1846, to the Tibetan frontier of Ladák, to ascertain the ancient boundaries between the two countries, and to lay down the boundary between the British territories and those of Mahárája Guláb Sing. The settlement of this boundary was one of some importance to the hill states, and more especially to our new acquisition of Nurpur, which received all its shawl wool from the traders of the eastern hill states, and not from Kashmir. Immediately after the war, I had pointed out that, by giving up to Mahárája Guláb Sing the southern dependencies of Ladák, we had actually interposed a rival territory between our own provinces on the Sutluj and the shawl-wool districts of Cháng-Tháng. The southern boundary of Spiti was, in fact, not more than thirty miles from Rámpur, on the Sutluj. As the annual revenue of the Spiti district, derived from all sources, does not amount to more than seven hundred rupees, no difficulty was experienced in making an exchange of territory with Mahárája Guláb Sing, and Spiti was added to the British dominions.

It then became necessary to define the northern boundary of Spiti, with the other districts of Ladák. The two commissioners deputed for this purpose were

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which it has borne for many centuries. In A.D. 632-40, the Chinese pilgrim Hwan-Thsang mentions the district of *Pho-mi-lo*, or Pamer, which he makes 167 miles in length from west to east. To the south of Pamer he places *Po-lu-lo*, or Bolor, of which he says that the south-eastern part of the district is inhabited, and that the country produces much gold. Both these facts are true of the present Bolor or Balti; the higher mountains, moreover, abound in rock-crystal, which is consequently called the Belor-stone, or simply Belor. The transverse north and south range of mountains is called *Belut-Tágh*, or the "Cloudy Mountains;" and this name has, I believe, been confounded with Bolor.* Marco Polo is the next who mentions Pamer and the neighbouring districts: I have two copies of his works before me, but they differ so much that I feel quite puzzled which to follow. After the mention of Pamer, the earlier copy has the following—"From hence, the way to Kathay leads for forty days' journey between the *east* and the north-east, through mountains, hills, and valleys, in which there are many rivers, but no villages, except that some huts and cottages are to be seen amongst the mountains. * * * * The country is called *Palow*." The other copy thus renders the above—"Leaving this place, he (the traveller) has to go on forty days between *north* and north-east, and passes many rivers and deserts; and in all this journey finds neither verdure nor habitation. This country is called Belor. The people live in very lofty mountains." In the later copy, the editor

* In speaking, the two T's in Belut-Tágh would coalesce, and the traveller, who knew that *Tágh* meant a mountain, would conclude that *Belu-Tagh* was the true name, which would at once be confounded with Belur-Tágh.

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(Hugh Murray) has apparently corrected the Palow of the older copy to agree with his own identification, and has moreover changed the direction from north-east by *east*, to north-east by *north*, perhaps with a view of bringing it nearer to the true bearing of Kashgár, which is the next place mentioned. Now it is evident from Hwan-Thsang's* statement, that the district of *Pa-lo-lo*, or Bolor, must, in his day, have extended to the north of the Kárákoram range, and that the northern portion from Sir-i-kol to Khafalun, was then, as now, almost uninhabited. This, therefore, in my opinion, is the country which Marco Polo describes.

The Kárákoram Pass was traversed by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian, in A.D. 399.† He calls the range *Tsung-Ling*, or "Onion Mountains," a name which they must have received from the number of wild leeks that grow upon them, and scent the air in all directions. They were found by Dr. Thomson on the elevated plateaux to the south of the pass. Mir Izzet Ullah no doubt alludes to the strong and unpleasant smell of these wild leeks, when he ascribes the headache and difficulty of breathing that are usually attendant on ascending great heights, to the *Esh*, which is a Turki word, signifying "smell."‡

The actual height of only one point in this range has

* Fo-kwe-ki. Appendix. The situation of Belor to the *South* of the Kárákoram is also distinctly proved by the testimony of Abu Rihán, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi to India. Speaking of Kashmir he says, "La partie située au midi et à l'orient appartient aux Indiens, et la partie qui se trouve à l'occident dépend de plusieurs rois, dont *le plus proche* est Belor Shah," that is, the king of Balti.

† Fo-kwe-ki, c. iv.

‡ Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March, 1825, p. 113. The Gerards attributed their headaches to the same cause.

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VI.—ROADS, PASSES, BRIDGES.

I.—ROADS.

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In Tibetan every road is called *Lam;* but the high-roads are distinguished by the name of *Lam-chhen*, or "Great Roads," and *Gya Lam*, or "Passable Roads."* The principal road is that between Kashmir and Yarkand; the next in importance is the road to Lhasa, viâ Garo, and the third is that which leads through Rukchu, Láhul, and Kullu, to the cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana. Some of the other roads, though not much frequented by merchants, are still deserving of notice, as they have on three different occasions been made use of by the conquerors of Ladák. About A.D. 1600, the Musalmans of Balti, under Ali Sher, invaded Ladák on the west by the valley of the Indus. In 1836, the Sokpos or Sacæ invaded it on the east by the Rudok road; and in 1834, the Hindus of Jammu, under Zorawar Sing, invaded it on the south by the route from Kashtwar into Suru. Moorcroft mentions another commercial line between India and Kotan,† "which was frequented in the time of Shah Jehan and closed by the Chinese subsequently to their acquisition of Kashgar."

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* *Lam*, a road; *Lam-chhen*, a great road; *bsGya-lam*, a passable road.

† Transactions Royal Asiat. Soc., I. p. 55.

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X.—GOVERNMENT.

I.—NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.—VARIOUS OFFICERS.

THE government of Ladák was formerly a mild despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo.* The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the prime minister, or *Kahlon;* and the king was well satisfied both with his minister and with his subjects, if the former gave him sufficient means† for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure, and if the latter never disturbed his quiet ease with their complaints. The king literally did nothing, except when roused to exertion by some unusual occurrence. His subjects could behold his royal presence only by the presentation of an offering in money, according to their circumstances. But this was a costly pleasure; and the mental abstraction of the Buddhist prince was rarely disturbed by the curiosity, or loyal zeal, of his people. Occasionally an ambitious prince would arise, who (like Singhé Namgyal) retained the whole power in his own hands.

* The ruler was usually called *rGyal-po*, or the emperor; and the queen was called *rGyal-mo*, or the empress. In writing more formality was used, and the ruler was either entitled *rGyal-po-chen-po*, "the great emperor," or he was designated by his own name *Singgé-rNam-rGyal*, "King Singge."

† The prime minister was always the Gyalpo's treasurer, or keeper of the privy purse.

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645 the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power
175 of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the
[97] monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.

000 In Great Tibet the *Kahlons* of the four chief provinces of *Ngári*, *U*, *Tsáng*, and *Khám*, were elected by the civil power in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior *Kahlons*, and all other petty officers of state,
645 were elected by the four chief *Kahlons*. But in Ladák
634 the prime minister's office was almost hereditary; that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal *Kahlons*, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations. The Kahlon of Moorcroft's time was the Kahlon or petty Gyalpo of the Chimra valley; and the power remained in the hands of his family until the final settlement of Zoráwar Sing, at Lé.

622 Many of the principal nobility of Ladák were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a *Gyalpo* in Nubra; another in Gya; a third in Spiti; a fourth in Zanskar; a fifth in Paskyum; a sixth in Soth; a seventh in Suru; and an eighth in Hembabs, or Drás. The chiefs of Paskyum and of Soth distinguished themselves by their protracted resistance on the first invasion of Ladák by Zoráwar Sing.

645 The prime minister was simply styled *Kahlon*, or "the minister," or *Bangki-Kahlon*, "the chief minis-

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XII.—HISTORY.

I.—UNDER NATIVE RULERS.

175 642 "THE earlier history of Ladák is that of Tibet in general, as it originally formed one of the provinces of that kingdom, governed as to temporal matters by an independent prince, and in spiritual affairs by the Guru Lama, or chief pontiff of Lhása." Such was Moorcroft's opinion;* and such also is that of the present inhabitants: and there can be no reasonable doubt that such was the usual position of Ladák, although its political dependence was more nominal than real. Under vigorous rulers, such as Palgyi-Gon in the tenth century, and Singgé Namgyal in the seventeenth century, its entire independence was asserted and upheld. But the original dependence at some distant period is, I think, clearly proved by the acknowledged descent of the Ladáki princes from Khri-Tsaupo, the first recorded king of Great Tibet.

175 779 The earliest historical notice of Ladák is that of the Chinese pilgrim *Fa-Hian*, in A.D. 400.† At that time

* Travels, I. p. 336.

† *Fo-kwe-ki*. French translation by Remusat, &c., p. 26. *Fo-kwe-ki*. English translation by J. W. Laidlay, p. 27, note 1. This translation is enriched by many valuable notes, both geographical and religious. It should be in the possession of every one who takes any interest in the ancient history of India.

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the country had a king, and a numerous clergy, all of whom were strongly attached to the popular Buddhistical doctrine of the "*Lesser-advancement*," which consisted of outward observances, both moral and religious. The ceremonial of the *quinquennial assembly*, which was originally established by Asoka, about B.C. 250, was duly performed with much rude magnificence, and with becoming gravity. Buddhism was then the prevailing religion of Ladák; and there seems good reason to believe that it had been firmly rooted there for upwards of 400 years, since the first century before the Christian æra, when the Buddhistical doctrines were first *widely* spread throughout Tibet by the preaching of 500 Kashmirian missionaries.*

In the tenth century, when the empire of Great Tibet was finally broken up, several of the outlying districts were separated by ambitious chiefs, and erected into independent kingdoms. Thus Purang was occupied by Tashi-Degon, and Ladák by Palgyi-Gon.† From that time down to the end of the sixteenth century, no historical records now exist in Ladák itself, although it is possible that a copy of the royal genealogy may yet be found at Lhása. Csoma de Körös was certainly misinformed regarding the existence of a book at Lé containing the "names of the kings that successively reigned in that principality."‡ For, during the invasion of Ladák in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Ali Mir, the Musulmán chief of Skardo, all

* Klaproth's Chinese Chronology, in Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 128. It was however first introduced about B.C. 240.

† Csoma de Körös, Kings of Tibet. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 131. See also Deguigne's Hist. des Huns, &c. tom. i. p. 165.

‡ Note appended to his list of Tibetan kings. Prinsep's useful Tables, p. 132.

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175 [798] the temples and monasteries of the country are said to have been destroyed, and their libraries thrown into the Indus. To this cause the Lamas attribute the entire want of all historical documents prior to that time; and their only record accordingly begins with the conquest of the country by *Chovang-Namgyal*,* a descendant of *Khri-Tsampo*,† the first king of Tibet. No date is given: but as his brother's son was a contemporary of the emperor Jehángir, this conquest could not have taken place much earlier than A.D. 1600, or perhaps about 1580.

During my stay in Ladák I had a copy of the existing history of the country transcribed for me in the original Tibetan. The historical portion of this work is brief, as the greater part of the volume consists of the Lamaïc ideas of the cosmogony and theogony. When in Ladák I had the principal historical parts read and explained to me, of which I made notes at the time; and I had also an abstract prepared by a Munshi in Urdu. From these I have now arranged the only interesting parts of the history, extending over a century and a half, during which period Ladák was conquered three different times.

Chovang-Namgyal, a descendant of the ancient kings of Tibet, being expelled from Lhása, took refuge in Ladák, where he established himself about A.D. 1580. He afterwards extended his conquests into the neighbouring districts of *Changmarangi*, *Lodang*, *Purang*, *Gugé*, *Lhojumlang*, *Lungti*, *Shigar*, *and Khabkar*.‡ He

* *Chho-dVang-rNam-rGyal*, that is, king Chovang.

† *Khri-rTsam-po*, pronounced *Thi-Tsanpo* in Great Tibet.

‡ The names of these places are thus written in Tibetan: *Byang-dMa-rangis*, *bLo-dang*, *Bu-rang*, or *sPu-rangs*, *Lho-hJum-lang*, *Lung-ti*, *Shi-dKar*, *Khab-dKar*. Purang lies to the S.E. of Ladák, and Shigar

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then returned to the capital to make preparations for the invasion of Yarkand by the Nubra road. On hearing of his intentions, the chief men of Nubra at once waited upon Chovang at Lé, to tender their submission, and a trustworthy officer was despatched to receive charge of the district. After this, Chovang imposed a yearly tribute of one hundred golden *tillas** upon the landlords of *Kukiwála*, and upon those of *Rudok* a yearly tribute of 207 golden *tillas*, besides one horse and ten unicorns.† He also levied a considerable sum from the neighbouring districts.

Having acquired a large sum of money by these conquests, Chovang Namgyal resolved upon erecting an image of Buddha, under the name of *Sankya-Bidung*, or the "replete with extreme holiness." When the image was finished, all the people assembled to make their offerings, and a great feast was celebrated upon the occasion. Some time afterwards, about A.D. 1600, when he was meditating the erection of other images, he was prevented by death, and having no children, he was succeeded by his brother.

The new king, named *Jámya Namgyal*,‡ upon his

to the N.W. of it. The ambitious Chovang therefore would seem to have aspired to the conquest of *Ngári*, and of *Balti*, as well as to that of Ladák. But the historian has most probably dignified some successful plundering expeditions with the name of conquests.

* A *tilla* is worth about six rupees. The proper name for the gold coin is *sir-jao*, or a golden *jao*.

† In the original, *bSe-ru*, an animal with one horn. Csoma de Kőrös calls it a kind of deer (see Dict. in voce). Klaproth has a long note upon this animal (see Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. vi. pp. 229, 230, 231). He states that Mr. B. H. Hodgson's *Chiru* of southern Tibet is the same as the *Seru*; of which I think there can be no doubt. Mr. Hodgson himself assigns the animal to the "open plains of N.E. Tibet," but he has published no description. See Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, IV. p. 522.

‡ *hJam-dVyangs*, "sweet harmony."

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175 accession, received the usual offerings of submission from all the Ladákis, excepting only a petty chief of Purik who was in the interest of Ali Mir, the Gyalpo of Balti. Chovang Malig, the head chief of Purik and the elder brother of the rebel, applied to Jámya for a small force to coerce the refractory chief. The king assented and accompanied his troops to the Purik district, where they were suddenly overtaken by a violent snowstorm. The royal troops were dispersed; and the king and many of his principal followers were taken prisoners by the rebel and sent to Skardo,* where they were confined. The remainder of the troops were permitted to return to Ladák.

175 798 Ali Mir, the ruler of Skardo, taking advantage of the helpless state of the country, immediately marched upon Lé with a large force, and took possession of the whole of Ladák.† The temples and monasteries were burned;‡ the images of Buddha and of his various personified emanations were destroyed by the bigoted Mahomedans; and all the religious and historical books were thrown into the Indus. The conquest was complete; and arrangements having been made for the future government of Ladák, Ali Mir marched back to Skardo.

175 Shortly after his return, the conqueror released Jámya, the imprisoned Gyalpo of Ladák, and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. No reason is assigned for

* *Skar-mDo*, pronounced *Skardo*, "the starry place," or "starry fort."

† This conquest is also recorded in Vigne's brief historical notice of Balti (Kashmir, II. p. 253); but the chief of Skardo is there called Ali Sher, and not Ali Mir. Ali Sher is the true name, as all the petty chiefs of the Balti district claim their descent from him.

342 ‡ The buildings in Ladák are readily burned down, as all the walls are bonded together with timber, which in so dry a climate is readily ignited.

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a proceeding so foreign to the usual tyrannical bigotry of a Musalmán. It is probable that Ali Mir, finding it difficult to retain Ladák as a permanent province of his kingdom, thought it more politic to secure by a display of apparent generosity, even the lukewarm friendship of the king of Ladák, than to encounter the active hostility of a whole people.

Jámya's return was hailed with joy by his people, who all hastened to present their offerings of submission and congratulation, and to beg that he would restore the temples and images of Buddha, and procure new copies of their sacred books from Lhása. All this he was able to effect by his prudent management, as well as to extend the boundary of his dominions to *Tanchi*.

By the Baltian princess, Jámya had two sons, named *Singgé Namgyal* and *Norbu Namgyal*. The former was married to the daughter of *Chovang Gyalmo*,* who bore him two sons, named *Navang Namgyal* and *Tanjin Namgyal*. On this occasion the king sent a costly present of money, gold, silver, pearls, and coral to the temple of *Joborinché*, at *Brakpipulka*,† near *Lhása*. He also ordered to be copied in letters of gold, silver, and copper, the two books called *Gyatokisangsum*,‡ after which he is said to have died of grief or chagrin upon learning that two temples of Buddha still remained

* *rGyal-mo*, a "queen." She must have been one of the petty princesses of the country.

† *hBrag-p,hi-sbrul-ku*, pronounced *Brakpipulka*. The neighbourhood of Lhása is literally a vast suburb of temples. The names of many are given by Father Hyacinthe in his translation from the Chinese, but I can find no mention of *Joborinché*. See Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. iv. pp. 294-5-6.

‡ *rGya-tog-gSeng-gSum*, the "three secrets of *Gyatok*." The lamas read "*two*" to me; but as *gSúm* means "*three*," there are probably three books of this name.

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●175 unfinished. His reign probably extended from A.D. 1600 to 1620.

Jámya was succeeded by his eldest son *Singgé Namgyal*, who, feeling emulous of the military fame of his uncle *Chovang*, began his reign by conducting an expedition into the districts of *Gugé*, *Kiprok*, and *Tipichangyap*, from which he carried off many cattle and other property of the zamindars. During his reign
175 a monk, named *Staktshang-Raspa*, who had travelled
778 through *Gyagarnag*, *Urgyan*, and *Kháché*,* arrived at the village of *Tamosgang*,† in Ladák, where he made and consecrated an image of Chamba.‡ To this image he attached five monks for the performance of daily service, and having seen the complete establishment of the worship, he gave away in alms all that he possessed and departed.

175 After this Ahmed Khán, the chief of Balti, with the assistance of Jehángir Shah, invaded Ladák with a very large force; but *Singgé Namgyal* having collected his own troops to oppose them,§ the invaders were defeated

103 * *rGya-gar-nag*, literally the "white and black plains," that is, India and China. *U-rgyan*, the country of mixed races, perhaps the Indo-Persian district of *Udyána*, and the valley of the Kábul river. *Khá-chhe*, Kashmir.

† *gTang-mo-sgang*, on the right bank of the Indus below Lé. It is now the most populous village in Ladák.

‡ *Byams-pa*, pronounced *Chamba*, the "Clement." This saint is now very popular in Ladák. He is the future Buddha, MAITREYA.

§ Jehángir reigned from A.D. 1605 to 1628. The defeat of the Baltis may therefore be placed about A.D. 1625. This defeat is confirmed by the chronicles of Skardo, which (according to Vigne, *Kashmir*, II. p. 253) refer the loss of Ladák to the reign of Ahmed Khan, the son of Ali Sher. The subsequent invasion of the Lhásan territory probably took place in 1630. It is at least certain that these events could not have occurred later than 1630–1635, because in 1640 the celebrated and

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with great slaughter at *Kharbu*.* After this victory the king returned to his capital, and then proceeded at once against the people of *Gugé*, *Chaprang*, and *Lomostang*, who had taken advantage of the Muhammadan invasion to rebel against the authority of Ladák. They were quickly reduced by the active Singgé, and at the same time he took the opportunity of adding the neighbouring district of Rudok to his kingdom. Flushed with success, Singgé Namgyal next determined to attack Lhása itself; but when he had advanced as far as *Sri Kirkir*,† he was met by a deputation from the people of the country, headed by *Deba-Changpa*, with several mule-loads of gold, silver, tea, and other articles as a peace-offering. On receipt of this present, Singgé Namgyal consented to evacuate the Lhásan territory. Accordingly he fell back to Lomostang,‡ and afterwards took possession of the districts of *Purang*, *Gugé*, *Zanskar*, *Spiti*, *Purik*, *Mangyumla*, *Sedakh*, and *Shakyamcho*.§

ambitious Grand Lama *Navang-Lozang* had conquered the whole of Tibet.

* *Khar-bu*. There are two places of this name in Ladák, the larger of which is situated on the left bank of the Kanji river. The other stands on the right bank of the Drás river. The battle must have been fought at the former place, because it is on the high road from Balti to Lé, whereas the Kharbu of Drás is out of the way.

† *Shi-ri-Kyir-kyir*. This means a "winding or whirling stream," and is probably the river *Sekor* of our maps, which joins the *Tsangpo* about half-way between Lé and Lhása. *Kyir-kyir*, "circular," is evidently the same word as the Latin *circulus*, and the Greek κυκλος.

‡ This is probably the Stang of our maps on the right bank of the Sutluj, and on the high road between Spiti and Garo.

§ *Purang*, a district of Ngári to the west and south of the Mánasarovar lake, and the *Pruang* of Capt. H. Strachey's map. *Gu-gé* is also a district of *Ngári* to the west of *Purang*; its chief places are Chaprang and Toling. The districts of Zanskar and Spiti are well known. *Pu-rig* lies upon the Kanji and Waká rivers, to the eastward of Suru; its chief places are Kharbu and Paskyum. *Mang-yum-la* is certainly the district

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● 175 Singgé Namgyal had three sons, named *Deldan Namgyal*, *Indra Namgyal*, and *Tenchhog Namgyal*, amongst whom, by the advice of the lama *Thunshak*,* he divided his dominions. To Deldan he gave *Ladák*, *Purik*, *Rudok*, and *Mangyum*, as far as *Dáh*, on the Indus; to Indra he gave the district of *Gugé*; and to Tenchhog he gave *Spiti* and *Zanskar*. By this division of his territories the province of Ngári was finally alienated from Ladák, and was soon after lost by the family of Indra Namgyal to the Lhásan authorities.† Singgé Namgyal reigned from about A.D. 1620 to 1670.

Singgé Namgyal was succeeded by his son Deldan Namgyal in the government of Ladák, Rudok, and the

of Katakshe or *Mang-khar*, on the Indus, which still includes the large village of *Dah*. Katakshe usually belonged to Balti. *Sed-kha* and *Shag-kyar-rGyam-chho* are unknown to me.

* *Thun-shags*; in Sanskrit *Amogha Siddha*.

† It is to this petty state that Moorcroft alludes when he says that "Chanthan was formerly subject to independent princes, but their authority gradually merged into the supremacy of the chief pontiff at Lhása." (Travels, I. p. 364.) According to the information obtained by my brother, Capt. J. D. Cunningham (see Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XIII. p. 231), it would appear that the Gyalpo of Gugé was killed in a war with the Ladákis. The invaders were however expelled by a force from Lhása, which the last chief had asked for, and the Lhásan authorities afterwards retained the province in their own hands. A treaty was then formed with the ruler of Ladák, who married the daughter of the Lhásan commander, and received the district of Spiti as the bride's dowry. This is stated to have taken place about the beginning of the last century, or about A.D. 1720, that is, some fifty or sixty years after the division of his territories by Singgé Namgyal, and the foundation of the principality of Gugé by his son Indra Namgyal. As the district of Spiti is said to have belonged to Gugé, the family of Then-chhog Namgyal must have been dispossessed by that of Indra Namgyal some time beforehand. According to the above account also, the Spiti district must have been alienated from the kingdom of Ladák from about A.D. 1660 to 1720, when it was reconquered by the Ladáki ruler Delek Namgyal.

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western districts of Purik, Suru, and Hembabs. He began his reign with a display of great zeal in the cause of religion by constructing a large image of gold and silver in the village of Shé.* He also built a lofty tomb with a pinnacle of gold and silver, to the memory of his father, and constructed a wall around the monument of his mother. He erected temples at Zanskar, Pushbuz, and Tumnuz, each at a cost of Rs. 10,000. In the fort of Lé, also, he set up an image of Chandra,† and appointed several priests for the performance of daily worship. In the same place too he consecrated a silver image of Chanrazik, the god of the dead.‡

The appointment of *Shakya-gya-cho* to the post of chief minister having produced a revolt in the district of Purik, the minister with a large force marched in person to Kharbu, where, having seized the principal officers, he returned to Lé and imprisoned them in the fort of Hemis. About a year afterwards the people of Chigtan, Shako, and Sôd,§ rebelled against the government. The minister was again despatched to quell the disturbance, which he effected without any difficulty; and *Thai Sultán*, the author of the rebellion, being

* This image, which still exists at Shé, has now lost all its gilding. It is a colossal copper figure of *Shakya Thubba*, or Shakya in a *squatting* posture. *Shé* is on the right bank of the Indus, a few miles above Lé.

† *lCham-hdré*. Moorcroft calls this image by the name of *Chamba* (*Byams-pa*, the "Clement"), but his description of it differs somewhat from the paintings of Chamba which I possess. (See Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 343.)

‡ *Spyan-ras-rigs*, pronounced *Chan-razik*. It is equivalent to the Sanscrit *Avalokita* or *Avalokiteswara*, the "seen." This image is also described by Moorcroft, and most accurately (I. p. 342).

§ *Chigtan*, *Sha-rkar* or *Shako*, in the Suru valley. *Sôd*, near Paskyum in Purik.

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● 175 seized at the village of Karchu,* was sent as a prisoner to Lé.

After this the minister with a large army invaded the district of Khapalor, one of the dependencies of Balti. On his way he took possession of the district of Chhorbat; and at Thorchekhar, near Khapolor, he received the submission of Hatim Khán, Sultán Khán, and Ali Khán, the chiefs of the district.† But the chiefs of Karchu and Balti having obtained aid from the Mahomedan governor of Kashmir, advanced against the invaders, whom they encountered at Sariru.‡ The Ladákis, under their leader *Parak Namgyal*, gained a signal victory; the Kashmiris having lost many of their officers as well as their colours and drums. In consequence of this victory, the chiefs of Karchu and Balti tendered their submission, and became tributary to Ladák.

But this success was shortly followed by an alarming invasion of Sokpos.§ Under their leaders, named *Galdan Chobar Jongar* and *Lobzang Sherab*,‖ these marauders routed the Ladáki troops at *Dalang-*

* This place is the chief town of the Suru district. It is the same as Moorcroft's Lang-kartsé.

† *Kha-po-lor* and *hChhor-hBad* are both upon the Sháyak river, and were both dependencies of Balti until the Dogra conquest in 1840. *Tho-rche-mKhar* is perhaps the *Hajacha* of Vigne's map, which lies immediately to the eastward of Khapolor. Hatim Khan was the chief of Pargutu, and Ali Khan of Keris.

‡ *Sa-ri-ru*, position unknown.

§ *Sog-po*, the people of the *Sog* tribe. They are the *Sákas* of the Hindus, the Σακαι and Σαγαραυκαι of the Greeks, and the *Mogals* of the present day, who, under the celebrated Janghez Khan, only a few centuries ago, spread terror throughout Europe. Their country is called *Sog-yul*, and also *Li-yul*, or Brass-land.

‖ *dGah-ldan-Chho-dBar*, with the affix of *hJong-hGar*. The name of the other leader was *bLo-bzang-She-rab*.

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Kharmar, and pursued them as far as *Lung-Khung*; but being afterwards worsted by the Ladákis, they retired to their own country. In the following year, however, they again invaded Ladák, and having again defeated the Gyalpo's troops, at *Balaskya*, they took possession of the village of *Chang-la*.* Here they were joined by the people of Gugé, and having advanced as far as Sakti, near the pass of Chang-la, they halted while the Ladáki troops retreated upon Lé. This took place in the year of *Chhumo-phag-lo*, or the "water-hog," the sixtieth year of the Tibetan cycle, equivalent to A.D. 1685-86.

After this the Sokpos took possession of the whole country as far as Nyimo,† excepting only the forts of Tashigang, Baku, and Chimra.‡ Having failed in an attempt upon the fort of Tumnuz, they encamped at Bazgo,§ where they halted for six months. During that time repeated skirmishes took place between the two armies; and the Sokpo chief, Galdan Jongar, tried in vain to destroy a bridge by throwing stones upon it. These events occurred in the year of *Shingpho-byi-lo*,‖

* *Byang-la*, pronounced *Chang-la*. From this and the following mention of the village of Sakti, it appears that the Sokpos invaded Ladák from the side of Ruthog (or Rudok) by the Chang-la pass. The Sakti fort was in fact dismantled by the Sokpos. (See Moorcroft, I. p. 427.)

† *Nyi-mo*, on the right bank of the Indus, about twenty miles below Lé.

‡ Chimra is most probably the village of *Chum-ri*, at the junction of the Chang-la rivulet with the Indus.

§ *Baz-go*, a large village on the right bank of the Indus, about twenty-four miles below Lé.

‖ In the original this date is written *Shing-pho-khyi-lo*, or the "wood-dog-year," which is the eleventh of the Tibetan cycle, and equivalent to either A.D. 1637 or 1697, neither of which is admissible. I have

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● 175 or the "wood-mouse," the first year of the Tibetan cycle, which is equivalent to A.D. 1686-87.

The Ladákis now implored the aid of the Muhammadan governor of Kashmir, who, with the permission of Aurang Shah (the emperor Aurangzeb), despatched a force of 600,000 men (most probably about 6,000) under Nawáb Fatch Khán, Murid Khán, Lashkar Khán, Kahgán Sultán Khán, Yahia Khán, and Jahángìr Khán, to the assistance of the Gyalpo. They crossed the Indus at *Khallach*,* by two wooden bridges; and at *Thanskya-tanag* they encountered and completely defeated the Sokpos. The Musulmáns pursued them as far as *Pitak*,† and having taken that fort, they put the garrison to death, whilst the main body of the Sokpos took refuge in the fort of Lé. After this the invaders having agreed to quit Ladák, retired to Kashún, on which the Mahomedans returned to Kashmir, accompanied by *Jig-bal Namgyal*, the younger son of the Gyalpo. This happened in the year of *Shingmo-lang-lo*, or "the wood-ox," which is the second of the Tibetan cycle, and equivalent to A.D. 1687-88.

In the following year, however, the Sokpos again invaded Ladák, and destroyed the fort of Lé. But, afterwards, through the mediation of a lama, named *Brug-pa-Pham-Bangpo*, the Sokpos agreed to retire on receiving possession of the district of Rudok. A large stone was then set up as a permanent boundary between

therefore made a slight correction by changing *khyi* to *byi*, which is fully justified by its tallying with the other recorded dates.

* *Khal-lach*. The principal bridge across the Indus, on the high road from Kashmir to Lé, is still at this place.

† *Pi-tag*, a small rock-fort on the right bank of the Indus, only four miles from Lé.

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the two countries, the line of demarcation being drawn from the village of *Dechhog* to the hill of *Karbonas*.

This invasion of Ladák by the Sokpos is thus related by Moorcroft.* "About a century and a half ago the Kalmak Tartars invaded Ladák and occupied Lé, and the Raja flew to Kashmir and implored the aid of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of that province in the reign of Aurangzeb. With the permission of the emperor, and on the condition that the Raja became a Musalmán, Ibrahim Khan led a body of troops into Ladák, expelled the Tartars, and replaced the Raja on the throne by the title of Akabal Mahmud, conformably to his new faith. A mosque was erected in Lé, which is still kept up. The son and successor of the Raja reverted to the national creed, and the apostasy was overlooked at Delhi in consideration of the encouragement given to Mahomedanism in the country, and a small annual tribute or present paid to the governor of Kashmir, as the representative of the emperor." A similar account is given by Mir Izzet Ullah,† who says, however, that the title given to the Raja was *Akabet* Mahmud Khan, and that "the Hakims at Kashmir still address the raja of Tibet by that designation." Izzet Ullah farther states that the Raja "coins the *Júd*‡ in the name of Mahmud Shah." This last fact seems to be conclusive of the Gyalpo's apostasy; and I may add that the Dogra soldiers always called the last Gyalpo by the name of Akabet Mahmud Khán. The people, however, both lamas and laymen, whom I interrogated upon this subject, stoutly denied that the Gyalpo had

* Travels, I. pp. 336, 337.

† Quarterly Oriental Magazine, No. V. p. 109.

‡ "Four *júds* make one rupee."—Izzet Ullah.

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797 ever become a Musalmán, although they acknowledge
175 that from that time Ladák had continued to pay tribute to the governors of Kashmir. The real truth no doubt is, that the chief made an open profession of the Muhammadan faith in the presence of the Musalmán troops at Lé; but after their retirement to Kashmir he naturally reverted to his own creed. It is probable that the Gyalpo's younger son, Jigbal, who accompanied the Musalmán troops on their return to Kashmir, may have become a Musalmán; and that the governor may have been satisfied with the real conversion of the son, and the permanent establishment of a masjid at Lé.*

175 *Deldan Namgyal* had several sons, one of whom, *Jigbal*, accompanied the Muhammadan army to Kashmir. Another, named *Banchak*, proceeded to Lhása with the Sokpos, at the request of their leader. Of a third, called *Thuptan*, nothing is related. A fourth, named *Delek*, succeeded his father, who abdicated in his favour, and afterwards resided in the fort of Stuklakté. The reign of Deldan Namgyal probably extended from A.D. 1670 to 1705.

Delek Namgyal married the princess, or Gyalmo, of Lomostang, by whom he had five sons: 1st, *Nyima;* 2nd, *Navang;* 3rd, *Dechok;* 4th, *Choltan-grub;* and 5th, *Chortan.*† Delek Gyalpo probably reigned from A.D. 1705 to 1740. It was during his reign that the district of Spiti was re-annexed to the kingdom; and it was

* Vigne (II. p. 253) says that "the name of the first Ali Sher Khan, or Shah Murad, is still to be seen upon a mosque at Lé." Moorcroft, however (I. p. 337), refers the building of the masjid to the period of the Gyalpo's conversion, and so does Izzet Ullah.

† These names are written thus: 1st, *Nyi-ma;* 2nd, *Nga-dVang;* 3rd, *bDe-skyong;* 4th, *Chho-dVal-ton-grub;* 5th, *Chho-rtan.*

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perhaps towards the end of his reign, or more probably in the beginning of his successor's reign, that Ladák was invaded and conquered by Murád, the chief of Balti,* who reigned from about A.D. 1720 to 1750. 175

From that time down to A.D. 1834, when the country was conquered by the Dogras under Zoráwar Sing, the general of Raja Guláb Sing of Jammu, the history, as related to me, was uninteresting. I find, however, that Vigne† mentions an invasion of Balti by an army of Ladákis, during the reign of Ali Sher, the father of Ahmed Shah, the last chief of Balti. The invaders were defeated and obliged to surrender. As this must have happened not more than twenty or twenty-five years prior to Moorcroft's visit to Ladák, it is strange that he makes no mention of it. Vigne's account is farther confirmed by the existence of a tree, which was pointed out to him on the Ladáki frontier near Khallach on the Indus, which was said to have grown from a stick planted there by Ali Sher Khan on his return from a victory in Ladák.‡

When Moorcroft visited Ladák in 1822, the Gyalpo paid an annual tribute to the governor of Kashmir, with which Ranjit Sing was probably contented. But the recent conquest of Kashmir, and the threats of the Sikh governor, had even then alarmed the Gyalpo, who made a tender of his allegiance§ to the British Government, which, unfortunately for the prosperity of

* Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 253. † Kashmir, II. p. 254.

‡ Kashmir, II. p. 254. It is possible, however, that this may refer to the conquest of Ladák by the first Ali Sher Khán.

§ Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 420. I agree with Professor Wilson, Preface, p. xxxix, that "a friendly footing in Ladák would be highly favourable for establishing a beneficial trade with Tartary and Turkistan."

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 175 Ladák and the commerce of British India, was refused. From that time the Gyalpo lived in continual apprehension of an invasion of his territory by the Sikhs from Kashmir; but the governors of that district were too frequently changed, and too closely watched by the emissaries of the Jammu brothers, to be able to carry out such a design, even if they had formed it. For Raja Dhyán Sing, who was omnipotent in the Sikh durbar, was resolved that no one but his elder brother Raja Guláb Sing should obtain possession of Ladák and Balti. The invasion of these countries was therefore postponed until Guláb Sing had consolidated his power in his newly-acquired territory of Káshtwár,* which he had lately wrested from its hereditary chief.† Accordingly, in 1834, when the power of the Jammu brothers had been extended over all the hill states lying between the Jehlam and the Ravi, excepting only Kashmir, a large body of Dogra troops under the Vazir Zoráwar Sing invaded Ladák from the Káshtwár valley. The following account of this invasion was kindly dictated, at my request, by Mehta Basti Ram,‡ now governor of Lé, who was one of the principal officers of the expedition. As an authentic record of an interesting event, of which no other account exists to my knowledge, I should have

* *Káshtavára*, abounding in wood.

[797] † The representative of this family is now a Christian residing at Simla. He formerly lived at Ludiana, where he was converted by the American missionaries.

‡ Mehta Basti Ram is a Hindu rajput of Káshtwár. He was the governor of Takla-khar, or Takla-kot, near the source of the Sarju or Ghágra river, at the time of Zoráwar Sing's defeat and death, when he made his escape to the British provinces of Almora. He speaks in high terms of the kindness shown to him by the British resident, Mr. Lushington.

L: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AI4

preferred giving the narrative almost literally, but I found that in this shape it would entail the insertion of too many foot-notes, which would have completely distracted the attention of the reader. I have therefore rewritten the account entirely, and have given the Tibetan names, which my knowledge of the localities enabled me to do without much difficulty. The narrative was of course dictated in the first person, for which I have throughout substituted the name of "Dogra" and "the Dogra troops."

II.—CONQUEST OF LADÁK BY THE DOGRAS.

1. The chief officers engaged in this expedition under the Vazir Zoráwar Sing, were, 1st, Mia Rai Sing; 2nd, Mehta Basti Rám; 3rd, Mirza Rasul Beg; 4th, Rána Zálim Sing; 5th, Singhé Mankotiah; 6th, Mian Tuta; 7th, Sirdar Uttam Sing; and 8th, Vazir Khojah Bhunjah.

2. The Dogra troops marched from Káshtwár, and entered the Ladák territory by the pass at the head of the Suru valley,* where, on the 16th of August, 1834, they were opposed by the Boti leader Mangal, at the head of 5,000 men. The Dogras advanced to the attack up a hill, which was obstinately defended for a whole day, and at last succeeded in dislodging the Ladákis with a loss of only six or seven killed, and five or six wounded; whilst the enemy lost thirty killed, and as many wounded. They encamped on the north side of the hill for the night, and on the next morning marched to Suru, where they halted for eight days. During that time the Vazir

* This pass was described to me as being extremely easy on the northern side, but very steep and difficult on the south.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 175 prohibited his troops from cutting the corn, which was then ripe, and his politic conduct was rewarded by the immediate submission of the zamindars, who came over to him in a body, and placed themselves under his protection. The Vazir then built a small fort,* which he occupied for a month. He next advanced to *Shakhar*,† where there was a fort belonging to Thai Sultán, and having reinstated the zamindars of Janguri and Shakhar in their villages, he made a summary settlement of the district by imposing a tax of four rupees upon each house.

3. Leaving thirty-five men in the fort and ten men over the bridge, the Dogras advanced by *Langkarchu* ‡ and *Manji* to the bridge of Paskyum, where they were again opposed by the Ladákis. The struggle was desultory and protracted, the Dogras losing only seven killed, while the Botis had fifty or sixty killed, and a greater number wounded. By a skilful manœuvre the Ladákis effected their retreat across the bridge,§ which they then broke down. On the following day, however, the Dogras managed to cross the river on inflated skins without opposition; on which the chief of the place abandoned Paskyum, and fled to the fort of Sôd,‖ where, with the zamindars of the district, he determined to hold out.

* This is the fort in Vigne's map called "Kilah Suru Kurri," belonging to Gulâb Sing.

† *Shá-mKhar*, the fort of *Sha*.

[103] ‡ The Lang-kartse of Moorcroft. The true name I believe is "*Lang-karj-chu*," or the "valley of the Karj river." The bridge here mentioned is that which was crossed by Moorcroft on his journey to Drás.

§ The Wakâ-chu is not fordable at Paskyum, and the bridge is within musket-range of the fort, and of numbers of houses on the northern bank of the stream.

‖ *Sôd*, the Soth of Moorcroft, who mentions an interview that he had with the Raja at Paskyum.

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4. The Dogras advanced towards the place and raised a battery against it; but after ten days' firing nothing had been effected, although they had lost forty men in killed and wounded. The Vazir, who had remained behind at Paskyum, then ordered Mehta Basti Rám, with a party of 500 men, to make a vigorous assault upon the place. Accordingly, early the next morning, whilst it was still dark, the attack was begun by a discharge from the battery, under cover of which the Dogras advanced rapidly to the assault. By daybreak they had gained possession of the place, and had captured the Gyalpo. Altogether the number of prisoners taken at Paskyum and at Sôd amounted to 6,000 men. A whole month was then wasted in fruitless negotiations with the zamindars of the district, who would not agree to the terms of settlement proposed by the Vazir.

5. In the mean time Akabat Mahmúd Khan, the Gyalpo of Ladák, with the *Banka Kahlan** and four chiefs, named Gapaju, Dorje Namgyal, Chang or Chovang Nabdan,† the Kahlon of Bazgo, and Rahim Khan, of Chachot, accompanied by a force of about 22,000 men, arrived at Mulbil. From thence they despatched envoys to the camp, who at first talked boldly, and tried to frighten the Dogras, but they afterwards

* *bKah-bLon*, the prime minister; but the term is also applied to the chief men of all the districts. At this time the Kahlon of Ćhimra was the prime minister.

† This man accompanied the unfortunate expedition of Zoráwar Sing into the Lhásan territory. After the Vazir's death he was made prisoner and carried to Lhása, where he is said to be now kept in rigorous confinement. His wife, a buxom-looking dame, who manages the estate of Bazgo, informed me that she had sent several persons to Lhása, not one of whom had been able to communicate with her husband.

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175 declared their readiness to agree to honourable terms, and proposed that some respectable and confidential agents should be sent back with them to treat with their chiefs regarding the terms of accommodation. To this the Vazir consented, and after having feasted the envoys and placed turbans on their heads, he deputed Mehta Basti Rám, with some other Dogra officers and a guard of 500 matchlock-men, to accompany them. When the men were ready to start, the Vazir was requested not to send so large a party, as their number would be more likely to alarm than to pacify the minds of their countrymen. Accordingly only five men, with two respectable zamindars, named Gola and Nanda, were sent with the envoys. On their arrival in the Ladáki camp, these men were treacherously seized by the chiefs, and despatched under a guard of 500 men to the bridge of Darkech. One of the men, however, a Suwar, named Ratan Sing, managed to escape, and returned to the Dogra camp. In the mean time Banka Kahlon, by a circuitous route, attacked the Dogras in their rear, and made many prisoners, who were thrown bound into the river in sight of their comrades. On this the Vazir, seeing the danger of his situation, ordered a retreat, which with some difficulty was effected to Lang-Karchu, in the Suru valley, to the fort of Thai Sultan. There the Dogras remained unmolested for four months, procuring a precarious subsistence by plunder alone.

6. At the end of that time Banka Kahlon with his 22,000 men advanced towards Langkarchu; but the Vazir, having received intelligence of their movements, despatched a party of 100 men to oppose them, when they were within one kos (one mile and a half) of the place. Now the straggling manner in which the Dogras

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were obliged to wade through the snow, and the unsoldier-like way in which their tents were scattered over the open country completely deceived the Ladákis as to the real number of their enemies. They were, besides, quite exhausted with their long and fatiguing march through the snow; and therefore, instead of attacking the Dogras at once, they halted for a consultation, which ended in the whole body sitting down to prepare their evening meal of tea and wheaten flour. On seeing this the Dogras attacked them with their swords, and after five or six were killed on each side, and several were wounded, Banka Kahlon and the other Ladáki leaders became alarmed, and fled with numbers of their men. The remainder of the Dogras, who had hitherto held aloof, now rushed to the attack, and completed the rout of the Botis; 400 Ladákis, in attempting to escape along the bank of the river, were overwhelmed by the fall of a snow-bed, and 1,200, who had been concealed behind a hill, were made prisoners, along with Moru Tádsi,* the Káhlon of Bazgo, and his son Gyurmed.† The Dogras lost three of their leaders, namely, Uttam Vazir, Hazru Vazir of Una, and Surtu Rana, with twenty men, and between fifty and sixty wounded.

7. After this victory the Dogras were again enabled to advance to Paskyum by making use of their prisoners for the carriage of their baggage. From thence they marched by Shergol to Mulbil, where they halted for fifteen days, and then proceeded by Kharbu to Lama-

* *Mo-ru-rTá-rDsi*, or *Moru*, master of the horse. Vigne (Kashmir, II. p. 352) calls him Marut Tanzin. He was the Káhlon of Chimra, a district to the S.E. of Lé, on the Rudok road. See Moorcroft's Travels, I. p. 425.

† *hGyur-med*, pronounced *Yurmed* in Great Tibet.

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175 Yurru, where they were met by an envoy with a letter from Sultán Akabat Mahmud Khán,* suing for peace. Eight months,† he said, had now elapsed in the vain struggle for independence, and that, if the Vazir would promise faithfully that he should not be seized, he would himself come to treat about the terms of peace. To this the Vazir at once assented, adding that the king need not be under any alarm, as the Dogras wanted nothing more than the payment of a regular tribute to their master, Maharaja Gulab Sing. On this the Gyalpo advanced to Bazgo, and intimated his wish to have an interview, provided the Vazir would not bring a large body of men with him. Accordingly the Vazir, Zoráwar Sing, with Mehta Basti Rám and 100 men, waited upon the Gyalpo, whom they found encamped upon the plain of Bazgo,‡ with a party of 2,000 men. The Gyalpo received the Vazir kindly, and begged that he would move his camp to Bazgo, which was soon afterwards done.

8. When ten days had elapsed, the King wished the Vazir to accompany him to Lé, but with only a small party, lest the inhabitants should become alarmed. Zoráwar Sing assented, and started for Lé with only 100 men. Soon after their arrival the Vazir waited upon the Gyalpo, and was preparing to make his usual offering

* This is the name by which the Dogras always knew this chief. They had received it from the Muhammadans of Káshtwar, who of course used no other name for the descendant of one who was said to have been converted. The Gyalpo's real name was Tonduk Namgyal.

† As the advance was made in the middle of August, 1834, the defeat of the Ladákis must therefore have taken place in the middle of April, 1835. Vigne (II. p. 353) says the spring of 1835.

‡ Bazgo is a very picturesque place situate on the right bank of the Indus, twenty miles below Lé.

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of a *Sadka* of Rs. 100* to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan, then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo, when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning.

9. For four months† the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo should pay Rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of Rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of Rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of Rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of Rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru.

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort, and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles‡ in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged

* A bag of money waved around the head by the person who presents it.

† As the march from Suru to Lé, with ten days' halt at Bazgo, must have occupied nearly a whole month, the Vazir could not have left Lé until the middle of October, 1835.

‡ Twenty-five *kos*, each kos being as nearly as possible one mile and a half.

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[727] upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with fifty men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

[651] 12. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku * or Zanskar, the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

669 13. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé; that the Gyalpo, at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants;† that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tâdsi and the Banka Káhlon, and that he had imprisoned and tortured his Munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he had determined to march at once. Every one professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named

* *Zangs-mKar*, which the Dogras invariably call *Jasku*, and which is the *Zanskar* of our maps.

† Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.

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Midphi Sata offered his services, to whom the Vazir gave a present of a pair of golden bracelets, worth Rs. 500, besides two rupees a day, and the promise of the district of Zanskar in perpetuity.

14. With twelve seers of wheaten flour, and a bag of barley upon each horse, the party, under the direction of their guide, marching from forty-five to sixty miles* a day, in ten days reached the village of Tsumur,† where they most unexpectedly heard that the wife and son of the Gyalpo were then residing. A party of 500 horsemen was sent forward to capture them; but they received early intelligence of the movement, and fled to Lé. On this the Gyalpo waited upon the Vazir at Chachot,‡ and expressed his sorrow and contrition for what had occurred. The Vazir demanded why he had so shamefully broken his promises, and added, "Although

* From thirty to forty kos a day; but this is impossible in such a country. The probable length of each day's march cannot be estimated at more than thirty miles, which would give a total distance of 300 miles in ten days. The exaggeration, however, is natural to men in such circumstances. This march must have taken place in the end of November, 1835, at a season of the year when the winter's snow has already set in throughout Ladák, and when all the higher passes are finally closed. Their route was therefore most probably up the Zanskar river, and over the Lunga Lách and Thung-Lung passes to the Indus below Gya. By this route they would have travelled about 300 miles. I know of no other route that would be passable in November. The direct route to Gya from Zanskar is open but for a few months, and that which lies down the course of the Zanskar river, and over the Singé Lá to Lama Yurru, is closed in October. Besides which, the distance by either of these routes would not have been even 150 miles.

† This is no doubt the large village of *Chumri* or *Chimra*, on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Marchalang, and on the high road leading to Rudok. This position must have been chosen by the raja's family for the convenience of escape into the Chinese district of Rudok.

‡ Chachot is on the left bank of the Indus, between Chumri and Lé. It is the Chushut of Moorcroft.

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175 669 we conquered your country with 10,000 men, we did not place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom." The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

175 651 15. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to Rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first, the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu, offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jaghir.* A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tâdsi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.†

175 16. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai‡ and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé.§ Ac-

* This was the large village of Tok, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to Lé. It is still held by the Gyalpo's grandson, although three-fourths of the perquisites formerly attached to it have been resumed.

† This must have taken place in the spring of 1836, according to the narrative, soon after which Vigne appears to have visited Lé, where he found that the new king, called "Marut Tanzin," was installed, while the old king "was living at Tok, over the river, opposite to Lé."—Vigne's Kashmir, II. p. 354.

‡ Lakpat Raj was the governor of Kashmir in 1846, and was killed in the early part of the rebellion of Shekh Imám-ud-din.

§ Baldé or Paldér, the Phaldam of Moorcroft, is the chief place in Zanskar.

cordingly they marched with fifteen hundred foot-soldiers by the Zanskar road to Baldé, where they were opposed by Budhi Sing Mithania, the chief of the district. Victory declared for the Dogras, with a loss of eighteen or twenty men killed on their side, and about twenty or twenty-five on that of the enemy. After a halt of seventeen days, they proceeded towards Jammu, leaving a garrison of twenty men in the fort of Chatrgarh.*

17. Maharaja Guláb Sing and the Mia† were both very much displeased with the Vazir Zoráwar Sing for having made over the country to Moru Tâdsi, who had no claim to it. The Vazir replied that Moru Tâdsi belonged to the royal family of Ladák; but that since his elevation was displeasing to the Maharaja, he would depose him on his return to Lé. One year after this, news was brought that the new king had revolted, that he had killed the thanadar of Baldé and his twenty men, that twenty others had been made prisoners; and that the Dogra troops throughout the country were beleaguered in their different forts.

18. On hearing this, the Vazir started at once with a body of three thousand infantry, and in two months reached the district of Baldé; but owing to the swollen state of the river he was unable to accomplish anything for two months more.‡ At the end of that time, when the river had become passable, the Dogras attacked the

* Chatrgarh is on the right bank of the Chanáb river.

† Uttam Sing, the eldest son of Guláb Sing, a fine soldier-like young man, was killed at Lahor, along with No Nihál Sing, by the falling of a gateway.

‡ The swollen state of the river points to the months of July and August. The capture was, therefore, most probably made in September.

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each side; on which he was taken back to Lé and imprisoned. 175●

The old Gyalpo, Akabat Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tâdsi, were both brought before the Vazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former, upon the old terms of Rs. 23,000 yearly tribute, but with the stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him. [651]

The Vazir then again proceeded to Jammu, where he remained for a whole year,* after which he returned to Ladák with 5,000 men, for the purpose of seizing Moru Tâdsi, the Káhlon of Banka, and Chang Nabdan, the Káhlon of Bazgo, both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo Mahmud Khan.†

They had been in correspondence with Ahmed Shah of Balti, whom they wished to engage in a general rise against the Dogra authority. The Balti chief imprudently lent too willing an ear to their overtures, and by a subsequent act furnished the long-looked-for pretext for invasion, which Zoráwar Sing was but too glad to seize upon. Early in 1835 Ahmed Shah being dissatisfied with his eldest son Muhammed Shah, had formally disinherited him by the inauguration of his younger brother Muhammed Ali. On that occasion Muhammed Shah fled to the camp of Zoráwar Sing in Suru, and claimed his protection. This the wily Vazir readily granted; but not wishing to embroil himself with the chief of Balti while the campaign in Ladák was still before him, he contented himself with giving promises

* From different statements in the narrative, Zoráwar Sing's residence at Jammu must have been during the latter half of 1838 and the beginning of 1839.

† Basti Ram's narrative ends here. The remainder of this history has been compiled from other information.

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175 643 645 of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son, to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

III.—CONQUEST OF BÁLTI.

175 727 When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar and heard of the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and annexation of that principality. 175 A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

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Accordingly, in the end of the year 1840, the Vazir assembled an army of 15,000 men, and a large body of Ladákis, for the conquest of Balti. Ahmed Shah also prepared himself for the struggle, and was joined by a large party of discontented Ladákis, who, after crossing the Indus, destroyed the bridge, to delay the advance of the Dogras. Zoráwar Sing was obliged, therefore, to march down the right bank of the river, which he followed steadily for twenty-five days, receiving the submission of the chiefs of Khatakchau and Khapolor, but without finding any place where the army could be crossed. He then detached Mia Nidhân Sing, with a body of 5,000 men, by way of Shigar, to look for a road, and to collect provisions, which had now become very scarce in the Dogra camp. But the Baltis kept a good look-out, and had early intelligence of this movement. Mia Nidhân Sing was allowed to advance unmolested for about fifteen miles, when his party were surrounded and attacked by thousands, and he himself was cut off with nearly the whole of his detachment.

About 400 men only managed to find their way back to the Dogra camp with the tale of their defeat. At the same time the winter set in with a heavy fall of snow,* and as provisions were extremely scarce, the Dogra troops became so much dispirited, that their discipline was seriously affected. With an impassable river in their front, and certain starvation both from cold and hunger, whether they retreated or remained in their present position, the majority of the troops paid no attention to orders, and of the few who still obeyed, none did so with alacrity.

* Vigne, II. p. 266, states that there are occasional winters of great severity.

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● / 75 The Dogra army had halted in this position for fifteen days, exposed to frost by night and to hunger by day. Many had sought shelter from the snow amongst the overhanging rocks, and there they sat listless and vacant, and utterly indifferent whether they should be cut off by the sword of the enemy, or be frozen to death by the cold. The Vazir saw the desperate state in which he was placed, and roused himself to discover a passage across the river, but after several hours' vain search he returned in the evening wearied and desponding. Upon this Mehta Basti Rám and some others, to the number of about forty, determined to make a last effort to extricate themselves from their difficulties. At midnight, with only one companion, Basti Rám examined the bank of the river for several miles, while his party kept up a smart fire upon the Botis on the opposite bank, to distract their attention. At length they discovered a place where the river was frozen over sufficiently thick to bear a man's weight, save about twenty feet in the middle, where the ice was thin. Then, sending for assistance, they cut down trees and placed them over the weaker parts of the ice, and by five o'clock in the morning the Indus was passable.

Intelligence was sent at once to the Vazir, by whose order this small party of forty men was the first to cross the Indus; but they had been so benumbed by their night's work, and by their previous exposure, that ten of them sank down exhausted, and afterwards lost their hands and feet, and eighteen others were unable to get through the snow. Basti Rám was then left with only twelve men, which the Botis perceiving, they moved to attack him; but, in the mean time, Zoráwar Sing, having roused a number of his men, pointed out to them

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that the river was passable, and that it had already been crossed by some of their more adventurous fellow-soldiers. Upon this a number of Dogras advanced gladly to the attack. The Indus was rapidly passed, and the small party of daring men, after a smart fight, was safe. The Botis retreated, leaving 200 men dead on the field, and 100 men wounded. The Dogras lost only 25 killed, and 15 or 16 wounded in the action; but they had about 500 men more or less disabled by the loss of hand or foot during the exposure to the snow of the last few days. 175

The retreating Botis were pursued, and slaughtered for nine miles, as far as Marwan, where the victorious Dogras pitched their camp. The Vazir halted there for a few days to re-organize his troops, and to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the last action. To Mehta Basti Rám he gave Rs. 500 and a pair of gold bangles, and to thirty-two others of his party he gave similar presents of less value, to some Rs. 100, to some Rs. 50, and to others Rs. 40, according to their deserts.

Zoráwar Sing then advanced to Skardo, and after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmed Shah for want of water.* He was shortly afterwards deposed by Zoráwar Sing, who installed his eldest son Muhammed Shah in his room, on the promised payment of an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000. But the astute commander, who had profited by his experience in Ladák, would not leave this new conquest to the doubtful faith of a son of Ahmed Shah. A small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in a new fort on the bank of the river, to confirm the faithfulness of the new king, and Ahmed Shah and his favourite son

* Ahmed Shah retired to the fort before Zoráwar's arrival, having first set fire to his own palace.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 were carried off as prisoners to Ladák. In this campaign the invaders lost about 200 men, and the Botis about 300 men.

Previous to the conquest of Skardo, the old king of Ladák, Tonduk Namgyal (or Akabat Mahmud), had been accused of having intrigued with Ahmed Shah for a simultaneous and organized rising of the Tibetans of Ladák and Balti. He may, perhaps, have been wrongfully accused; but as his feelings must naturally have inclined him to think favourably of any enemy of the Dogras, it would have been impolitic to have left him behind, as the absence of the conquering troops might have tempted him to rebel. Zoráwar Sing therefore carried Tonduk Namgyal with him on his expedition against Skardo. The old man had outlived the downfall of his country; he had survived close personal restraint and bitter indignity; but when his last hope was cut off with the fall of Skardo, he gave way to despondency, and being attacked with small-pox, he died within a month after the annexation of Balti to the Jammu viceroyalty of the Sikh dominions. On the death of Akabat Mahmud, his grandson Jigmet Singgé Namgyal, a mere boy, was acknowledged as Gyalpo by Zoráwar Sing. The father of this lad, Prince Chovang (or Chang) Raphtan Namgyal, fled first to Hundar in Nubra, and afterwards to Spiti, on the deposal of Akabat Mahmud. In October, 1837, he reached Sarâhan, in Bisahar; and in April, 1838, he came to Kotgurh, where he resided until his death in 1839. He was then about twenty-one years of age. His wife, a daughter of the Káhlon Chovang Tandup, remained in Ladák with her young son Jigmet Singgé.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

IV.—INVASION OF TIBET.

Elated with his success, Zoráwar Sing now threatened the neighbouring states, and even talked of invading Yárkand. But the Lhásan provinces of Rudok and Ngári were more accessible; and the unscrupulous conqueror revived the old claims of Ladák to those districts which had been alienated since the time of Singgé Namgyal. It was enough for him that the monasteries were known to possess vessels and instruments of gold and silver for the service of religion; and that the country produced the finest shawl-wool. The plunder of the first would enrich himself and his soldiers, and the acquisition of the latter would be highly pleasing to his master, as it would throw the whole trade in shawl-wool into the hands of the Jammu Raja. 175

In the month of May, 1841, with an army of 5,000 men, he advanced up the valley of the Indus, and plundered the monasteries of Hanlé and Tashigong. His troops penetrated to Rudok and Gáro, both of which submitted without striking a blow. The conqueror then passed the sources of the Indus, and established his head-quarters on the Sutluj at Tirthapuri, in Gugé, the principal place in the holy district of Lake Manasarovara. The whole country was now occupied by parties of Dogra and Ladáki soldiers. Basti Rám was stationed at Takla-Khar, on the Karnali or Gogra river, close to the frontiers of Kumaon and Népal. Rahim Khán, a half-blood Musalmán of Chachot, was placed over Spiti, while Ghulám Khán, his son-in-law, was employed in the congenial occupation of plundering the monasteries and temples. This work he executed with iconoclastic fury. The gold and the 175 798

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

silver were reserved for his master; but the plastic images of clay, the books and the pictures, excited the religious bigotry of the Musalmán, and were indiscriminately destroyed.

The news of this invasion was speedily carried to Lhasa; and about the 7th of November, Zoráwar Sing first heard of the approach of a Chinese force. He at once detached a small party of 300 men, under Nono-Sungnam,* to oppose the advance of the Chinese; but the detachment was surrounded at Kar-dam-Khar, to the south of the Ráwan-Hrad lake, and almost cut to pieces. The Nono himself escaped, and was again detached on the 19th of November, with a larger force of 600 men, under the joint command of himself and Ghulam Khán; but this party was also surrounded and cut to pieces, and the leaders were both made prisoners.

Zoráwar Sing, still treating the Chinese with contempt, although they numbered about 10,000 men, or three times the strength of his own force, at once advanced from his position at Tirthapuri with the whole of his available troops. The two armies first met on the 10th December, and began a desultory fire at each other, which continued for three days. On the 12th Zoráwar Sing was struck in the shoulder by a ball, and as he fell from his horse the Chinese made a rush, and he was surrounded and slain. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and fled on all sides, and his reserve of 600 men gave themselves up as prisoners. All the principal officers were captured, and out of the whole army, amounting with

* *No-no* is the title given to a younger brother. Nono Sungnam (or Sodnam) was the younger brother of Chang Raphtan, the Káhlon of Bazgo.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

its camp-followers to 6,000 men, not more than 1,000 escaped alive, and of these some 700 were prisoners of war.

The Indian soldiers of Zoráwar Sing fought under very great disadvantages. The battle-field was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing-point, and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. For several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes; and all were more or less frost-bitten. The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire; and the more reckless soldiers had actually burned the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. On the last fatal day not one-half of the men could handle their arms; and when a few fled, the rush became general. But death was waiting for them all; and the Chinese gave up the pursuit to secure their prisoners and plunder the dead, well knowing that the unrelenting frost would spare no one. A few men made their way to their brethren at Takla-Khar; but that garrison was so dismayed by the defeat, that they fled precipitately, even over the snowy mountain-range, near the head of the Kali river, into the British province of Kumaon. But even in this unopposed flight one-half of the men were killed by frost, and many of the remainder lost their fingers and toes. These few, and the prisoners, form the whole number that escaped with their lives.*

* In this very month, and in the same year, 1841, the British army, of about the same strength, was destroyed at Kabul.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

●175
727

Amongst the prisoners were Ahmed Shah, the ex-ruler of Skardo, and his favourite son Ali Muhammed, whom Zoráwar Sing was afraid to leave behind. The old man was treated with kindness, and even with distinction; but his heart was broken, and he pined and died in a few months. Other prisoners of distinction were, 1st, *Rai Sing*, Zoráwar's second in command, for whose liberation Maharaja Guláb Sing wished the Governor-General to intercede with the Lhásan authorities.

2nd. *Chang-Nabdan*, the Káhlon of Bazgo, whose wife, a buxom rosy-cheeked dame, came crying to me in 1847 at Nyimo, to do something for her husband's release. She had written every year to him by different persons, but had never got any reply, as no communications were allowed with the prisoners.

3rd. *Nono-Sungnam*, the brother of the last. These two brothers were considered particular friends of the invaders, and were therefore treated more harshly than the multitude.

4th. *Ghulám Khán*, the active plunderer and desecrator of the Buddhist temples, was tortured with hot irons. His flesh was picked off in small pieces with pincers; and, mangled and bleeding, he was left to learn how slow is the approach of death to a wretch lingering in agony.

During the winter the Chinese re-occupied the whole of the Gáro territory, and early in the spring of 1842 a body of about 3,000 men advanced into Ladák, and laid siege to the new fort at Lé.* They were joined by the boy-king Jigmet Namgyal, and the unwarlike Tibetans

* The people of Balti also rose; but they were soon reduced by a small force under Vazir Lakpat, who destroyed the fort and palace, to prevent the chance of another insurrection.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

once more began to dream of independence. But after a short reign of six weeks, Dewán Hari Chand and Vazir Ratanu advanced with fresh troops, and the Tibetans were rudely awakened from their dream of liberty by the musketry of their old enemies, and the 3,000 would-be heroes who had talked of invading Kashmir, fled ignominiously towards Rudok. There they recovered themselves, and taking up a strong position, they determined to await the approach of winter, and then join in a general rising against the Indian invaders. But the simple Tibetan was no match for the wily Indian, and the Lhásan commander was soon made a prisoner by stratagem. The strong position of the Tibetans was shortly afterwards turned; and the Lhásan Vazir was glad to be permitted to retire on the single condition that the old boundary between Ladák and China should be re-established.

In the autumn of 1846, during the rebellion of Shekh Imámuddin in Kashmir, there was a slight disturbance in Zanskar, which was promptly repressed by the Vazir Basti Ram, who is now one of the confidential servants of Maharaja Guláb Sing. Since then the whole country has been quiet; and the passive Tibetans have yielded to a power which they find it unsafe to resist. The neighbouring districts of Gilgit and Chalás have been added to the Maharaja's kingdom; and the same prince, whose dominions only twenty years ago were limited to the petty state of Jammu, now rules undisputed master of Kashmir and Western Tibet, from the sources of the Shayok to the head of the Gilgit river.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854. AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

795 the "mystic cross," which was a monogrammatic sign, formed of the letters *su* and *ti*. The combination *suti* is the Pali form of the Sanskrit *swasti*, which is compounded of *su*, well, and *asti*, it is. Wilson gives the meaning of "so-be-it;" but both versions equally imply complete resignation under all circumstances, which was the chief dogma of the fatalist *Swástikas*. These followers of the mystic cross held the doctrine of eternal annihilation after death; from which they derived their Tibetan name of *Mu-stegs-pa*, or "Finitimists."* According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress, and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves *Tirthakara*, or "pure doers;" and the synonymous name of *Punya*, "the pure," was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages, and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Khan.

● 175 779 According to the Chinese, the founder of the doctrine of the *Tao-sse*, or Rationalists, was *Laotze*, who lived from about B.C. 604 to 523. He was therefore a contemporary of Sakya Muni, by whom he is said to have been worsted in argument. By the Tibetan Buddhists he is called Sen-rabs;† but this perhaps signifies nothing more than that he was of the race or family of Sena. His faith continued paramount in Great Tibet for nine centuries, until Buddhism was generally introduced by Srong-Stan in the middle of the seventh century. But 798 779 the followers of the *Yung-drung-pa*, or "mystic cross," were still powerful; and in A.D. 899 Buddhism was formally abolished by *Lang Tarma*, and was not again

* Csoma de Körös, Grammar, p. 192.

† Id. ibid. p. 181.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

III.—DIFFERENT SECTS—LAMAS.

During the palmy days of Indian Buddhism, the faith of the Tibetans most probably partook of all the different fluctuations of belief that prevailed in India. The most ancient religious sect that is now known is the *Nyimapa*, all of whom wear red dresses. Most of the Lamas in Ladák and Ngari are of this sect. In the middle of the eighth century *Urgyan Rinpoche* (the gem of Urgyan, or Padma Sambhava) was invited into Tibet by Khrisrong De-tsan. He is said to have been an incarnation of the Dhyáni Buddha Amitabha (*Hod-pag-med*). He was the founder of a new sect, who differ from the *Nyimapas* chiefly in their worship of this incarnation. In the eleventh century Tibet was visited by *Chovo-Atisha*, a Bengali Pundit, who infused new vigour amongst the votaries of Buddhism. His pupil *Bromston* founded the Rareng monastery, and originated the *Káhdampa** sect, or those who are content with the observance of the "precepts" (*kah*), without caring for the acquirement of the higher branches of transcendental wisdom. The followers of these three sects all wear red dresses. Another sect, the *Sákyapas*, also wear red; but I know nothing of their peculiar tenets.

In the middle of the fourteenth century appeared the great Lama *Tsong khapa*. Some say that he was an incarnation of Amitábha (*Hod-pag-med*), and others of Manju Sri (*Jámya*). He was born in 1355, and died in 1419. He built the temple of *Gáhldán*, and was the first great abbot (*khánpo*), who occupied the Gáhldán

* *bKah-gDams-pa*, "followers of the precepts."—Csoma, Grammar, p. 197.

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

chair, which has been filled by a succession of abbots down to the present day.

The earlier abbots or patriarchs were the following :*—

1.	Tsong-kha-pa	born	1355 A.D.
		founded Gáhldán	1407
2.	Darma Rinchhen	born	1417
3.	Gelek Paldan	„	1429
4.	Zhalu Lekpa	„	1436
5.	Logros Chhos	„	1448
6.	Baso Chhosgyan	„	1461
7.	Logros Tanpa	„	1471
8.	Mon Lampal	„	1478

Previous to the establishment of the *Gáhl-dán* chair by Tsongkhapa, there would appear to have been no great patriarchs, or head abbots, of the Lamaïc priesthood; but the principle being once established, the attainment of this rank became an object of ambition, and the great abbots of *Gáhldán* were soon eclipsed by the superior piety, greater learning, and more active zeal of the abbots of *Tashi-Lhunpo*.† But the fame of Tsongkhapa was confirmed. He had established the annual feast of "intense supplication," which is still observed, and had originated the great sect of *Gelukpa* (the virtuous), which are distinguished from the older sects by a yellow dress. This sect is now the most numerous in Tibet, and both the *Dalai Lama* of Lhasa and the *Tashi Lama* of Tashi-Lhunpo belong to it. Tsongkhapa's memory is still venerated throughout Tibet. Pictures of him are hung up in all the temples, and the holy impressions of his hands and feet are said to be preserved

* Csoma's Chronology. Grammar, p. 181.

† *bKra-shis-Lhun-po*, the "mass of glory." It is pronounced *Tashi*, and is a very common man's name. Lhun-po is the English word

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in butter* in the western chamber of the Potála monastery.

Gedun Tub-pa ("the perfect Lama"), the founder of Tashi-Lhunpo, was born in A.D. 1339. He built the temple in 1445, and died in 1474. Before his death he had supplanted the abbots of *Gáhldán* in the estimation of the people, and his successors have enjoyed the reputation which he established: for previous to his time the great abbots of Gáhldán had been elected by the choice of the Lamas; but the bold and original mind of *Gedun Tub-pa* devised the present system of a perpetual incarnation. He himself was said to be an incarnation of the celestial Bodhisatwa Padma Páni; and at his death he relinquished the attainment of Buddhahood, that he might be born again and again, for the benefit of mankind. He died in 1473, and in 1474 his successor *Gedun Gya-tsho* (the Ocean of Lamas) was discovered as an infant by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession, *Navang Lozang Gyatsho*, founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lamas at Lhasa, in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. In 1643 he rebuilt the Potála monastery, and in 1650, after repeated solicitations, he paid a visit to the Emperor of China. The inscription of the Emperor Khang-hi, engraved on stone, calls the grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been reigning in 1642 (that is, Navang-Lozang), the *fifth* Dalai Lama. But he was in fact the *first* Dalai Lama, although he was the *fifth* Tashi Lama who had

* Nouv. Journ. As. 1830, p. 169. Father Hyacinthe. The prints of the Grand Lama's hands were eagerly sought for by the people.—Turner, 459. Several of my pictures have these prints on the back. I have also a *sanad*, or grant, by the Emperor Akbar, which bore on the back the print of his royal hand.

1: Cunningham G-8 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 175 793 occupied the chair of Tashi Lhunpo. Since his time there have been two great Lamas, the one called the Dalai Lama, occupying the chair at Lhasa, and the other called the Tashi Lama, filling the chair at Tashi Lhunpo. Precedence is given to the Dalai Lama, both in writing and in conversation; but their influence is pretty equally divided. Both chairs are filled by a succession of supposed incarnations, and generally the elder of the two is the most influential. The succession from *Gedun Tubpa* down to the present day is the following:

—	Written Names.	Spoken Names.	Date. A.D.	Remarks.
1	dGe-hDun-Grub-pa ..	Gedun-Tubba ..	1389	Born. Founded Tashi Lhunpo 1445.
2	dGe-hDun-rGya-mTsho ..	Gedun-Gyatsho ..	1474	
3	bSod-nams-rGya-mTsho ..	Sonam-Gyatsho ..	1541	Visited Altun Khán.
4	Yon-tan-rGya-mTsho ..	Yontan-Gyatsho ..	1587	
5	Nag-dVang-bLo-bZang ..	NAVANG LOZANG ..	1615	Established himself as Dalai Lama; 1640 conquered Tibet; and visited the Emperor of China 1650.
6	Rin-chhen-Tshangs-dByangs	Rinchhen Tshang Chang	1690	?
7	bLo-bZang-skal-lDan ..	Lozang-Kaldan	1725	?
8	bLo-bZang-hJam-dPal ..	Lozang-Jampal ..	1760	A minor in 1774.
9	Lung-rTogs-rGya-mTsho ..	Lumtok Gyatsho ..	1790	?
10	Tshul-khrims-rGya-mTsho ..	Tshul-thim Gyatsho ..	1817	?
11	dGe-dMn-reGya-mTsho ..	Gemure Gyatsho ..	1835	Nine years in 1844.

795 793 But besides these two great Lamas of the yellow sect of Gelukpa, there is a third great Lama in Bhutan, called the *Dharma Raja*, who is the head of the *Dukpa* sect, all of whom wear red dresses. Dharma Raja is his usual title amongst the people of Bhután, but amongst the Tibetans he is generally called *Jigten Gonpo** (Lord of the World). The Dalai Lama is called *Gyalba Rinpochhe*,

* See Plate XXII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The earliest mention of the prayer-cylinder is by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian,* in A.D. 400, who saw it in the hands of the Srámanas of *Kie-chha* (Ladák). Klaproth states that this instrument is not mentioned in any Indian books; and I can vouch that I have never seen it represented on any piece of Indian sculpture. It was, however, in very early use in North-western India, where it was introduced by the Indo-Scythian princes about the beginning of the Christian era. On the gold coins of Hoërki, or Hushka, the Indo-Scythian prince is generally represented holding the prayer-cylinder in his right hand.† The same object is no doubt represented on the large medallion in the accompanying plate; but the figure holding it is most probably the chief patriarch of the Buddhist religion.

These instruments are found of all sizes and in all positions. Cylinders, about one foot in height, are placed in rows around the temples, and are turned by the votaries before entering. Larger cylinders are found near villages, turned by water, which keeps them perpetually revolving day and night. The device is so ingenious as to induce a hope that it may be adopted in Roman Catholic countries, where the time now spent in telling beads and reciting pater-nosters and ave-marias might be more profitably employed in worldly matters, while the beads were told, and the prayers were repeated by machinery. An ingenious mechanist might form small prayer-boxes, which could be wound up to produce a certain number of revolutions of an inclosed pater-noster or ave-maria; and thus any number might be got through during the night. Indeed, I am not sure that Roman

* Fo-kwe-ki, c. V. † See Plate XXVII.

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101

The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning, "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása. 631

As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people." 101

I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyool" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángtháng, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.

There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."

At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of 175 631 648

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
717 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month,
443 or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

WT 589 601 WIDOWER--dazan or phórang.

WT 601 [170]WIFE--áney or zhidmát or toks or troks. But see also "Husband" and "Remarriage."

WT 584 WOO TO--Ladákis don't "woo," as their parents settle their marriages for them.

WT 565 272 [171]YEW BARK--sangldan-i pakspa. The poor Ladákis use it as tea. They slightly roast it, powder it, boil it up with water, and then add soda and ghee.

WT 648 431 [172]ZIAFAT--phoks. This is the term for the presents of sheep, ghee, etc., which, in accordance with the custom of the Kashmir State, used to be made to the British Joint Commissioner in Ladák, each year, on his return from India to Leh. This practice has been discontinued since 1887.

[174] ORIGIN OF THE LAPCHAK MISSION, etc.

WT 175 648 721 I am indebted to Dr. Marx, of the Moravion Mission, for a translation of a portion of the History of Ladák, written by Bering Wáng Chung, which enables me to give the following explanation, regarding the origin of the Lapchak and Chhaba Missions, of the so-called "Minsar Jágeer" of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the refusal of the Lhása authorities to allow foreigners, other than natives of Ladák, to enter Lhása Territory viá Ladák.

T 175 648 721 About 180 years ago, when Lha-chhen-lde-leks-rnam-rgiál was king of Ladák, a mixed force of Mongols (the Tibetan word for Mongol is Sokpo) and Lhása men invaded and conquered Ladák. For three years they held possession of the country, but then "the Náwáb of Kashmir" sent up a force to aid the Ladákis, and the invaders were defeated, and compelled to retreat to Táshis-gang (about 8 miles east of Demjok), where they entrenched themslves, [sic] and arranged for a treaty of peace in the following manner.

T 175 728 648 WT 175 728 648 The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Láma, named Mee-pham-wáng-po, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Láma of the kings of Ladák, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhása to Táshis-gang, to arrange the conditions of a treaty of peace--for the Ladák king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient one.

Tibet AJ1

WT 175 778 648 T 175 778 648

It was agreed as follows:--

(1) The boundaries fixed, in the beginning, when king Skyid-lde ngeema-gon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained.

(2) Only Ladákis shall be permitted to enter into the Ngárees-khor-sum wool trade (i.e., to cross the Eastern frontier of Ladák, for the purpose of purchasing wool in the Gárdok, Poorang, and Googey Districts).

(3) No person from Ladák, except the royal trader of the Ladák Court, shall be permitted to enter Rudok.

(4) A royal trader shall be sent by the Deywa Zhung (i.e., the Grand Láma of Lhása), from Lhása to Ladák, once a year, with 200 horse-loads of tea-- (this is the "Chhaba," vide page 20).

(5) A "Lo-chhak" (vide page 85) shall be sent every third year from Leh to Lhása with presents. As regards the quality and value of presents brought for all ordinary Lámás, the matter is of no consequence, but to the Lábrang Chhakdzot (i.e., the Treasurer of the Grand Láma of of Lhása) shall be given the following articles, viz.

(a) Gold dust--the weight of 1 zho 10 times i.e. about Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 worth.

(b) Saffron--the weight of 1 srang (or thoorsrang) 10 times, i.e., about Rs. 60 worth.

(c) Yarkhand cotton cloths--6 pieces.

(d) Thin cotton cloth--1 piece.

The members of the Lapchak Mission shall be provided with provisions, free of cost, during their stay at Lhása, and for the journey they shall be similarly provided with 200 baggage animals, 25 riding ponies, and 10 servants. For the uninhabited portion of the journey, tents will be supplied for the use of the Mission.

(6) The country of Ngárees-khor-sum (viz., Gárdok, Poorang and Googey) shall be given to the Omniscient Drukpa Láma, Mee-pham-wáng-po, and in lieu thereof the Deywa Zhung will give to the Ladák king three other districts (I don't understood [sic] this, perhaps this part of the treaty is genuine, but has never been given effect to) in Great Tibet.

[175](7) The revenue of the Ngárees-khor-sum shall be set aside for the purpose of defraying the cost of sacrificial lamps, and of religious ceremonies to be performed at Lhasa.

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(8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásarwar and Rakas Tál.

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With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

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Chapter II.
History.
General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *gálpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon ráj* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon ráj* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Taláí or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

† Moorcroft mentions that the Gálpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Gálpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subterranean tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are occasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála.

History of Láhaul.

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

9:Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4 Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.

175 436 651 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years ago, there do not seem to have been many silver coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

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651 436 804 However, once a year the taxes due to the Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver, and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.

1 [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary — ANALYST]

9: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

651 436 804 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2⅔ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

●175 436 As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet, there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal [435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 16

AN INCARNATE LAMA

The founder of Hemis Monastery was Stagtsang Raspa, a lama who in the eleventh century came to the nulla where Hemis now stands, looking for a retreat where he could pray and commune. This nulla, narrow, secluded, and quiet, was ideal for his purpose. Willow, poplar, and alder trees shaded it. Clear, cold water poured from springs in bounteous supply. There was solitude broken only by water pouring over rocks, by wind in the trees, and by the harsh churr-churr of the mountain finch. Stagtsang Raspa spent many months in this primitive retreat, trying to make contact with his deity or god-protector (Yidam), who would lead him to the Highest Blessful State.

The lovely nulla visited by Stagtsang Raspa is no longer the quiet place he knew. It is today filled by a thriving monastery of five hundred lamas who keep the place bustling with energy. And twice a day the canyon is filled with hundreds of deep-throated echoes that seem to come from the bowels of the earth. These are the blasts of twelve-foot horns blown from the roof of the monastery to open the day at 5.30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

101 175 631 inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet. Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

175 645 It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

792 425 556 The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

792 175 668 631 This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the northwest; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy systems:

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Communism vs. Buddhism

When the Chinese Communists, in January 1950, announced their program for the "liberation" of Tibet, they were following a traditional Chinese policy of intervention. In the ninth century, Tibet was at war with China. Tibet, the aggressor, was expanding east and west. But the Buddhist religious invasion of Tibet dramatically illustrates that religion makes a vast difference. When Buddhism became fastened on the Tibetans, war no longer became an instrument of policy. Buddha's command not to kill had profound political effects. Tibet became at times a subject nation. The Mongol Empire was extended over Tibet in A.D. 1200. By A.D. 1700 Chinese suzerainty began.

Tibet has never been a part of China, though Tibetan history, written by the Chinese, has made it so. Tibet was strong and independent when China was weak; Tibet was subservient when China was strong. Tibet has always been China's western neighbor. The boundary, which runs through vast, trackless expanses, has caused frequent disputes. The pressure of the western border people on China was often strong. China moved to a position of influence or control in Tibet in order to guard her western frontier.

The Chinese influence asserted itself in several ways. For centuries some lamas have received Chinese pensions and some monasteries have received generous Chinese donations. China has long demanded control of Tibet's foreign affairs and has always been jealous lest some other power align Tibet against China and thus create a menace from the rear. China has long paid the salary of the Tibetan Ambassador to Peking.

China has had at her command all the instruments of propaganda. Her merchants, her books, her periodicals, her students have gone throughout the world carrying the message of China's greatness and power. That message included the word that Tibet was a part of the great Chinese Empire. Tibet had no publicists, no ambassadors free of Chinese influence, no newspapers, no

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile. Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

"If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

la ilaha illa–'llah:
Mohammed rasulu–'llah.
No god but Allah: Mohammed
is the messenger of Allah.

There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh–2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist country, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongols. The Mongols always came to India to plunder, not to rule. The Moslems, who were Aryans, first came to India to propagate their faith in the ninth century. They took over the rule of India in the twelfth century. And so it was that the Maharajah of Kashmir, militant in his faith and with an eye to its propagation, agreed to drive the Mongols from Ladakh on one condition. The condition was that he be allowed to build a mosque at Leh. He pointed out that many of his faith followed the caravan route from Srinagar to Leh to Yarkand and yet had no holy place during their long absences from Kashmir where they could pray to Allah. The King of Ladakh, more intolerant of the Tartar invader than the Moslem proselytizer, agreed to the condition. The mosque has thrived ever since.

The castle of the King of Ladakh, like the King himself, has not thrived. It stands on a cliff behind the mosque and towers over the town. It rises many stories, like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Here visiting royalty was entertained and feasts were spread. It was to this castle that emissaries from the various princes of Ladakh sped with payments of taxes and promises of fealty. It was in this castle that the kings of Ladakh made their compacts with lamas and so, through the use of spiritual power, welded together into a compact political unit the eight principalities of Ladakh.

The lamas still thrive. Their monasteries now hold the great wealth that this castle once commanded. The lamas utilized their spiritual power to acquire temporal strength. In the end, they surpassed the temporal power that gave them their freedom. The castle of the King of Ladakh, to be sure, still stands. But it is today empty—filled with cobwebs, bats, and the memories of an ancient power that events have transferred to other hands.

The law of Ladakh, administered by the ancient kings, had all the cruelty of our own early system. Ladakh knew trial by ordeal. It was resorted to when the evidence was unsatisfactory, when the judge with his human limitations needed supernatural wis-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *ltadmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on conjecture and turn to that founded on written records either inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been disinherited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger brother had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, managed to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a hard hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

triumph was short-lived. A Buddhist priest disguised in the black sacerdotal robes of the *Bon Chos*, presented himself before the King with a petition, and, when near enough, drew from his ample robes a bow and arrow and killed the leader of his religious enemies. The assassin escaped by turning his coat inside out and showing the white lining.

Langdarma reigned about A.D. 900 and from him all the kings of Ladak have descended, for although they are split up into two dynasties, the later one is traced from a younger brother of the last king of the first line. An account of what happened under the various kings of these dynasties would be beyond the scope of this book, but let us rapidly trace the fortunes of the Western Himalayan kingdom, now represented by Ladak, and formerly including also the province of Baltistan. At first various royal personages held sway in different parts of the country, but the one in Leh was a descendant of the King of the Central Kingdom (Tibet proper), while in another part there ruled a Dard King. Between these two Kings there was continual strife, but at last the Leh ruler seems to have won the mastery in matters temporal, and increasingly in matters spiritual. One King introduced Buddhist literature from Central Tibet, another made it obligatory on all candidates for the priesthood to go to Lhasa for their training. This can only be regretted by the student of Ladaki as distinct from Tibetan literature, for, besides putting a stop to the growth of Indian Buddhism, it also inhibited the literary genius of this people, whose tales of by-gone days indicate how their literature might have developed.

By about the time of the fourteenth century Buddhism had quite prevailed, and, as is so often seen with this religion, having once subdued the indigenous faith, it incorporated much of the *Bon Chos* in its own tenets. The Lamaism of the present day thus consists of a large proportion of *Bon Chos* with a smaller mixture of Buddhism, the former still

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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making its old appeal to the illiterate people of the land, while only a few of the more erudite priests know anything of pure Buddhism. Even this mixed religion soon became corrupt, and in 1378 the Buddhist reformer of Tibet, Tsong-kapa, appeared, who tried to bring the priesthood back to the pure Buddhism of "Sangs rgyas," the Tibetan name for the Buddha, Sakya Muni. Finding the Tibetan priests wore red robes, while the true Buddhist priest should wear yellow, and, unable to get them to accept the orthodox dress, like a good Buddhist he compromised by insisting on yellow caps and sashes being worn with the former red gown. The reformed sect were not supposed to marry, but the unattractiveness of true celibacy could easily be overcome by a legal quibble applied to the prevalent custom of polyandry. The so-called "yellow lamas" were not allowed to eat meat, nor to drink "chang," the local beer. So now we get the two sects of yellow and red lamas existing side by side both in Tibet proper and in Ladak, in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants have existed side by side in Europe. Yet for a long time there was not much hostility between the two sects, though one king might favour one and another the other.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Lodros Chokldan was ruling in Leh, whilst at Tingmogang, situated on the old high road, where ruins of the old royal castle may still be seen, his cousin Bagan lived and ruled. The latter allied himself with a third ruler, and these two defeated the king of Leh. Bagan then ascended the throne, thus beginning the second dynasty, of whom the present ex.-ex. King is a descendant.

From now onwards, Ladak comes into conflict with peoples beyond her own borders. Although one Ladaki king had accepted the religion of Mahomet, the country remained faithful to Lamaistic Buddhism, whereas the neighbouring region of Baltistan had been definitely converted to Moham-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Balti AV2

medanism. Jamyang Namrgyal, the grandson of Bagan, King of Ladak, set out to enlarge his kingdom by attacking the buffer state between it and Baltistan, called Purig, of which Kargil is the capital. However, as he was too late in the year, he sustained defeat as much from snow as from the armies which opposed him, and as a result had to accept both the hand and the religion of the daughter of his Mohammedan conqueror. As the lady was beautiful, the accommodating lamas mitigated matters by discovering that Katun, their new queen, was a re-incarnation of the goddess, the "White Tara." The son of this union was, however, again a good Buddhist, and also went to war with Baltistan, but was unsuccessful. It was at about this time that the great Hemis Incarnation was invited to take up his abode in Ladak, and that the peculiar prayer-walls, of which we shall have more to say later, were introduced into the country. A third and successful war was also waged with the Baltis. But now begins the time of the decay and fall of the Western Tibetan Empire.

The quarrel between red and yellow lamas had now become acute in Tibet, and the yellow sect called in the King of Mongolia as their ally. He overran the whole country of Central Tibet, and then turned his eyes further afield, first letting them rest on Bhutan, with the result that, without waste of time, the King of Mongolia immediately attacked Ladak, slowly driving the army back to the fortress of Basgo. The ruins of this fort on the hill, where the Ladakis held out for three years are still to be seen. Being at the end of their resources, the Ladakis called in the help of the great Mogul King, Shah Jahan, who sent a large army to their assistance, and together they slowly drove the Mongolian invader back over the border. Shah Jahan made the Ladaki King accept the Mohammedan religion and leave one of his sons with him as a hostage. But hardly had his Kashmiri army retired from the country, when the Mongolians returned again and forced the poor old King of Ladak to sign another treaty,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the " Treaty Road " and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant ·rgeon, the Telegraph office with its " Babu " in charge, are ·· State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Chang-tang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

283 462 439 [435] [804] 175 439

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 439 subdued it for himself. The Ladaki King sent him some *Snambu* or Ladaki home-spun, woven of *lena*, as a present, and he admired it so much that he introduced the import of the wool into Kashmir. He is said to have had it woven into the first two shawls, or *shal*, the word meaning "a board," a name which he seems to have given them *faut de mieux*, for it hardly suits such essentially fine soft cloth. Two Persians then came to Kashmir to buy saffron and cummin, and bought these shawls to take back to present to their King. Next year they tried to obtain more ; later the cloth was taken also to Alexandria, and so its fame slowly became world-wide. Thus these delicate soft shawls are really derived from the protection which nature has given to our long-haired Himalayan goats to withstand the excessive cold on the roof of the world.

283 462 But we must return to the large part played by wool in the domestic activities of Ladak. First of all the raw product, arriving in rough twists, must be cleaned. If it is washed in water, the resulting cloth or *snambu* is said not to be so nice, but sometimes there is no choice, for the wool may be so impregnated with fatty grease that it has to be taken to the nearest spring or clear-running water to be cleansed, though it must never be squeezed or rubbed in the process. Sometimes it is further cleaned with white chalk from the cliffs near by, with which it is well mixed, then teased out. The next process, or *malches*, consists of the pulling out of the wool, and teasing out all little bits of tangled, extraneous matter, so that it is quite soft and ready to spin. Then comes the actual *kalches* or spinning, which is carried out on a slender cone of wood, elongated at both ends, called a *p'ang*. The end of this is supported in a little cup, either hollowed out of a small block of wood, or, what is infinitely preferable, made of the kernels of apricot-stones after all the oil has been pressed out, leaving a hard matrix or kind of oil-cake. The left hand manipulates the *p'ang*, twisting it to and fro in its little cup,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

146 Occidental Treatment for Oriental Maladies

757 A very old and dirty-looking beggar-man enters, and calmly
164 addresses the Doctor as follows, "Well, Little Brother, can you give me some medicine?" "Yes, certainly, Grandfather," replies the very professional Doctor, for in Ladak we are all related. Then comes a sedate, elderly lady, who tells us she is called "Deskyid," a name as pretty as its meaning, which is beautiful-happy. "And what is your trouble, A-che (Big Sister) Deskyid?" the Doctor inquires. Poor Deskyid has a very troublesome disease, for she feels as if the back of her leg had moved round to the front! The patient next to consult the Doctor is even in worse plight, for her arm has gone quite *hangdang*, which literally means mad. The Doctor knows of no medicine that is able to cure these troubles, but paints both offending members with Iodine, in the hope that its colour at any rate will help the leg itself to distinguish back from front, and bring the erring arm to its
754 senses. Then comes a lama, who asks whether we can supply him with a little human flesh. We had never regarded ourselves as a shop for this commodity, and on inquiry are informed that should one wish to obtain the powers of witchcraft, or sprinkle any offering with a very potent potion, it is necessary to get a concoction consisting of various kinds of flesh, including human flesh, milk, blood and other ingredients. This should be drunk by the devotee, who will then receive
● 175 mystic powers. This is, of course, a relic of the old cannibalism and human sacrifice which preceded the arrival of Buddhism, and is still reflected in a common oath constantly heard in the roads—*Amai Sha*, which means "by my mother's flesh." Our friend had to obtain these occult powers without
757 our help! Priests also have their troubles. Said one to the
876 Doctor, and he a Holy Incarnation, too, "Can you give me some medicine which will turn my skin white like your own." One can only hope he will behave so well in this incarnation that he may be re-incarnated in a white race next, although it is whispered that such a degradation only happens on account of former sins.

shall try to show why in some cases polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

The province of Ladak, which I visited, is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an ancient form of the language. Tibet, of course, is run by the Lamaist church and the head of the country is the Dalai Lama. The former kings of Tibet have taken refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D. and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

These Tibetan houses are not very different from our own western type of houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

The characteristic dress of the Ladak women is of red cloth such as the men wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

The men are tough-looking. They very often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply [101] people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine [101] people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emi- [144] grants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races intermingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Ladaki king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his saviour to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists.

After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line.

In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis.

Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

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In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

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1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/4

inner high one. This plain is interrupted by cross valleys that, originating in the higher range, pass through the lower one down to the Indus; the plain thus becomes divided up into wide necks of land. In the first cross valley were several villages, one of them, Timisgām, ending the first stage from Khalsi.

The next day's journey began by the route leading us up a branch of that valley, past some patches of cultivated ground, supporting each its own hamlet, into a narrow dry gulley between rounded hill-surfaces, up which we rose until we came out upon another such neck as we were on the day before. Again there crosses at right angles to the road a ravine which we have to go down into and up again by a zigzag path that gives us several hundred feet of fall and rise. Then a gradual descent brings us to Himis Shukpā, a noted place. This place is named after a grove of a hundred or two large shukpā, or pencil-cedar, trees which there grow about a stony mound. The girth of several of these trees is six or seven feet, and some that have irregular trunks measure 10 feet and more; they taper quickly upwards, reaching to a height of about 40 feet; it is a holy grove protected by the gods; disease and misfortune are said to overtake those who commit sacrilege against it. At Himis Shukpā are remains of a fort or tower, which was built by the Sokpos who invaded Ladākh towards the end of the seventeenth century; I was told that they built such towers in many places, and that this was the most westerly of them; its walls are of a kind of gravel or concrete moulded.

From Himis Shukpā we go up over another neck of gravelly ground, and down to another ravine; the waters of this support the village called Yangthang, or "New Plain." This was settled five-and-twenty years ago by a Lāmā, who, by his wisdom and good management, got the main watercourse made, and, having established cultivation, fixed a monastery in the valley, in which there are now seventy Lāmās. The land, which, by grant, is free of Government dues, is cultivated by labourers who receive their food and clothing from the monastery. Two more plateaus, separated by a ravine, making five in this march, had to be crossed before Tarūtse, which we made the halting-place, was reached.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir [redacted]
W. Tibetans AJ 1

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Trek through Ladekh to Leh

101 131 THE State of Jammu and Kashmir is not entirely confined to the valley though. Through the passes to north, east and west are other provinces which all come within its boundaries, although their peoples differ in appearance, language and religion.

[175] I suppose the most interesting of these is the province of Ladakh which some people refer to as "Little Tibet", for the people are in all respects more like those of Tibet than of the valley. The history of the country was close to that of Tibet for many hundreds of years extending back to at least the tenth century, the religious bond with Central Tibet being made the closer about the fourteenth century. One reads of their "King Deleg invoking the help of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the fall of the western Lama Kingdom", then of the Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu sending a Dogra leader, Zorawar, to subdue Ladakh and Baltistan, of his being enticed to further expeditions in his search after the hidden gold of Lhasa, going high into the snowy mountains, there to perish with his whole army. Finally of Ladakh being made over to Gulab Singh by the treaty which also gave him Kashmir.

131 133 In these days it takes about an hour to fly from Srinagar to Leh the capital of Ladakh; it takes days—weeks sometimes—on foot by the old caravan routes through the passes which are closed for half the year, and from the numbers of books written upon the journey about the turn of the century, it would appear to have been a favourite one with those who were seeking out the unusual yet interesting places and people. Ladakh, a province of over thirty thousand square miles, is one of the highest habitations in the world; there are very few parts which are

the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx). Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:--

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is extremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:--

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately connected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshū, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7), when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lāmas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladākh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhāsa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladākh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmāns in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladākh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

The people.

There are five main castes (*riks*): the Rgrial *riks*, or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks*, or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks*, or high officials; the Hmang *riks*, or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks*, or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

The Ladākhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladākhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladākhis are mostly engaged in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they use cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.